

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER, 1817.

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Art. I. *The Evidence and Authority of Divine Revelation.* Being a View of the Testimony of the Law and the Prophets to the Messiah, with the subsequent Testimonies. By Robert Haldane. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 352, 402. Price 12s. Oliphant, Waugh, and Innes, Edinburgh; Hamilton, and Hatchard, London.

**I**NFIDELITY is a disease of the heart rather than of the understanding. It is not so much from a deficiency of evidence, as from the absence of attachment to it, that men reject Revelation. Scepticism originates commonly in a secret wish that the contents of the Bible may be fictions; it is encouraged and nourished by occasional discoveries of apparent contradictions or imperfections, or blunders in the inspired writings; and it ends in stubborn attempts to prove the whole to be a cunningly devised fable, and then to laugh it to scorn. The Scriptures themselves uniformly ascribe unbelief to this state of mind—the alienation of man from God, and the enmity of his heart to the holiness and spirituality of the Divine requirements. In this condition of his moral faculties, no evidence will satisfy; the testimony of one risen from the dead, would be rejected as insufficient: while under a different state of heart, the testimony of the Gospel is seen in all its affecting simplicity and truth, and felt in all its overwhelming power and grandeur.

This view of the matter is powerfully corroborated by facts. A great proportion of the persons called infidels, consists of men whose lives evidently require that the announcements of the Bible should be false, or of such as have never given themselves the trouble to examine either the evidences or the design of Christianity. With the book which is the object of their unbelief, they have no other acquaintance, than what enables them to venture a profane jest upon its doctrines or characters, or to allege a stale and often refuted objection. A more intimate acquaintance with it, they guess, would be incompatible with their mode of life, and the enjoyment of peace of mind; they therefore keep

as far as possible from that which is so likely to disturb or alarm them.

Another numerous class of persons, whose lives also shew that they are unbelievers, in the Scriptural sense of the term, are well acquainted with the facts, and principles, and evidences of Revelation. On these subjects they appear to entertain no doubts, to feel no difficulties, to possess no prejudices. In short, in their own estimation they are believers. But their general deportment shews that they are "not of the Father, but of the world." Notwithstanding their apparent knowledge, their understandings must be in a state of spiritual darkness with respect to the true glory of Divine truth; the cause of which is to be sought for in the condition of their hearts and affections: "Their understanding is darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, *because of the hardness of their heart.*"

On the other hand, there are not a few individuals, who are genuine believers of the Gospel, and at the same time who are but very partially and imperfectly acquainted with what are called its evidences. The word of God has come to them with power and much assurance. It has accomplished a great moral revolution in their characters. It has healed the disease of sin, dissipated their doubts, relieved their anxieties, and filled them with joy and peace. The spirit of faith has been imparted to them, and light in the Lord has been the result. Their evidence of the truth of the Gospel is to be found in the relief it has afforded them, its suitableness to their condition as depraved and miserable creatures. With them it is not so much a matter of reasoning as of experience; not so much an argument as a sovereign remedy.

All attempts, therefore, to persuade man to receive the Gospel, which are entirely or chiefly addressed to him, in reference to his speculative principles, must in a great measure fail of attaining their object. They may silence, they may produce theoretical persuasion; but they will not convert the soul. The reason is sufficiently obvious. They are not applied to the seat of the disease. They view man rather as ignorant, than as wicked; more as a reasoner inquiring after truth, than as a sinner unwilling to be convinced. Between moral evil and natural evil, there is no doubt a very essential distinction, both as to their causes and their consequences; but, in point of fact, it is quite as practicable to remove blindness or deafness by disputation, as to dissipate infidelity, and to produce the faith of Christ, by accumulating the evidences of Christianity.

We freely admit that it is right to bring forward these evidences, and to reason upon them. In doing so, the guilt of unbelief is shewn, the mouth of the gainsayer stopped, the



faith of the Christian established; and, as part of the appointed means of salvation, in some instances it may lead to conviction of the truth. All this is well; but we contend that any discussion on the truth of Christianity, which does not go further than this, stops short of the point that ought ever to be kept in view. If there is not an appeal to the conscience, as well as to the judgement, if there is not a dealing with man as a sinner, an urging of the awful views which the Bible and the world afford of human nature, as sinful, rebellious, and accountable, an exhibition in the way of comfort and warning of what the Gospel reveals and threatens, a beseeching of men to be reconciled to God, and to flee from the wrath to come; if there be a neglect of these, that faith which is accompanied with salvation, will not be produced.

In confirmation of these views, we may appeal to the kind of writing and preaching which has most generally been made useful to the souls of men. The most successful preachers and writers, have not been those who have spent their lives in combating infidel objections, in ramifying the evidences of Christianity, in defending and illustrating the reasonableness of its doctrines, the beauty of its morality, and the harmony of its design. Most of the individuals who have been so employed, have laboured to very little purpose. The labour which God has generally acknowledged, is of a very different character; simpler in its nature, better adapted to the condition and feelings of man, and productive of holier and happier effects. The preaching of the Cross, though a stumbling block and foolishness to the world, is still the power and the wisdom of God to the salvation of sinners. When all moral suasion fails, this doctrine, stated in its simplicity, and faithfully and affectionately pressed on the reception of man, subverts his antipathies, enlightens his mind, and brings every thought into the captivity of its obedience.

How seldom do we hear of the works of Lardner, or Paley, producing conversion. They have been useful, we doubt not, in a subordinate degree, to many, and in their own place are highly valuable. But what Christianity itself is, what is the condition of those to whom it is addressed, or what it is designed to do for them—it is impossible from such writers to ascertain.

The work now on our table, we are happy to say, combines, if the preceding reasonings are correct, what ought never to be separated;—such a view of the evidences of Revelation, as, under the blessing of God, is calculated to satisfy and convince; and such a view of the subject of it, as is fitted to instruct, to comfort, and to save.

A work on the Evidences of Revelation, is now almost as common as a volume of sermons; and after so much has been

said, and so well said, on this subject, a new publication is in danger of being treated with neglect, unless something, either in the management of the subject, or in the character of the Author, excite the public curiosity. On both these accounts we consider the work of Mr. Haldane as deserving of attention.

It is the production of a *Layman*, of a man who has nothing to gain from the profession of the Gospel. Now, though we do not think that a work on Christianity is the worse for coming from the pen of a clergyman; though we consider it extremely unfair to give a physician or a lawyer credit for sincerity and disinterestedness in maintaining the principles of their respective professions, and to deny the same privilege to the individuals of a body which is at least quite as well entitled to the praise of integrity and candour; though these, we say, are our sentiments, yet, a work from an unprofessional, unbefitted man, has a particular claim on our attention, as being beyond the reach of suspicion. The public has hitherto shewn respect to such productions, and we conceive the present to be as deserving of this respect as most of its predecessors of the same class.

It is the work of a man of rank and fortune; one whose temporal circumstances have not driven him to take refuge for happiness in this world, in the religion of the Bible; one who was at ease in his possessions, when his own mind was first led to the truth. A man whose talents and property might have enabled him to make a figure in any of the walks of public life.

It comes from one whose own mind once doubted, and who may therefore be considered as better qualified for treating the doubts of others.

It proceeds from a gentleman whose name is well-known in the world; who sacrificed, at one time at least, property to a large amount, for what he believed to be the cause of Christ; who gave such proof of zeal and disinterestedness, as astonished all who were acquainted with it; and whose opinions on many subjects, were either peculiar, or misrepresented, or misunderstood.

On all these accounts we are glad to meet Mr. Haldane in the character of an author; and we pledge ourselves to examine his work with all that attention and impartiality which the importance of the subject and the circumstances of the writer claim.

The work is divided into Nineteen Chapters, on the following subjects:

‘ Introduction.—Necessity of a Divine Revelation.—Persecuting Spirit of Pagans.—Credibility of Miracles.—Genuineness and Au-



thenticity of the Holy Scriptures.—Inspiration of the Scriptures.—History of the Old Testament.—Miracles of the Old Testament.—Types of the Old Testament.—Prophecies of the Old Testament.—Vol. I.

General Expectation of the Messiah.—Appearance of the Messiah.—Testimony of the Apostles to the Messiah.—Testimony of the First Christians to the Messiah.—The Testimony of the Apostles and First Christians is not opposed by any contrary Testimony.—Testimony to the Facts of the Gospel History, from the Admissions of those who professedly opposed or wrote against Christianity.—Testimony to Facts recorded in the Gospel History, and to the Progress of the Gospel, by Jewish and Heathen Historians, and by the Public Edicts of the Roman Government.—Testimony to the Messiah from the success of the Gospel.—Facts recorded in the earlier parts of the Scripture History, cannot be disproved; and are corroborated by Tradition.—Testimony to the Messiah, from Prophecies that are at present fulfilling in the World. Conclusion. Testimonies to the Messiah; Salvation of the Gospel; Persons who Pervert, Abuse, Neglect, Oppose, or Receive the Gospel.' Vol. II.

This plan is certainly possessed of sufficient comprehension, and if filled up with ability must render the work one of considerable interest. We are particularly pleased with the attention which is paid to the Old Testament Scriptures, and with the care and ability discovered in tracing and illustrating the connexions of the two great parts of the Divine economy. Too little regard has been shewn in general to this subject, although it occupies no small portion of the Revelation of the New Covenant, and, we are persuaded, would most amply repay the exertion which may be required in investigating it.

In the First Chapter, the origin, progress, and extent of human depravity, are examined, to shew the necessity of a Revelation from God. The sentiments of the Heathen philosophers respecting good and evil, are quoted at considerable length, and the pollution, the cruelty, the hard-heartedness, and the debasing idolatries of Gentilism, are rapidly exposed. It contains, in fact, an abstract of some important chapters in Leland's work on this subject, without all their disgusting details. We were much pleased at the idea of a contrast between Cicero and Paul, in the following passage, but regret that Mr. H. has not followed it out a little further.

'A quotation has already been made from Cicero, which proves their deplorable ignorance, in respect to their own characters: "Whil' I exist I shall not be troubled at any thing, since *I am free of all fault.*" Here we have a picture of midnight darkness, of a mind "blinded by the god of this world." How different a view of himself was entertained by the Apostle Paul! "I am carnal," says he, "sold under sin. I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" But he had been made acquainted with that righteousness

which God had provided, and which he had joyfully accepted. It is not, therefore, on any precarious or hollow foundation of the supposed purity of his life, or of the *chance* of non-existence in a future state, that he rests. He stands, with confidence, on a specified ground of hope: "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day."—"Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

' In order to form some comparative estimate of the strength of the different principles which support the minds of these two men, both confessedly great in their way, let us view them in adverse and trying circumstances. Cicero, deserted by his friends, and in the prospect of suffering death, has nothing to rest on but the broken reed of his own rectitude, and as to futurity, he is in total darkness. Paul, in his last hours, his work done, and himself about to be put to death as an evil-doer, after exhorting a fellow-labourer to endure afflictions, and to persevere in that cause for which he was now to suffer, breaks out into this triumphant exclamation, to which there is nothing comparable, or in the least degree similar, in all the works of all the philosophers: "For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." ' pp. 35—37.

The conclusion of this chapter also is good.

' The necessity, then, of a written revelation from God, for all mankind, is manifest. The experiment of reformation, without it, had long been tried among the most civilized nations on earth. Learning and philosophy had done their utmost, and all had failed. Where is the city or village, since the world began, that was ever enlightened in the knowledge of God, by either Heathen or Infidel philosophers? It is the doctrine of the fishermen of Galilee which has subverted the altars, and dispelled the darkness of Paganism. The Christian who reads the Bible, borrows no light to his system from the writings of such men as Hume and Voltaire. And were he not in some measure acquainted with the deep depravity of the human heart, he would be astonished that, under the meridian light of divine revelation, their sentiments in religion should be so perverse, and so crude.' p. 41.

In the Second Chapter, the persecuting spirit of Paganism, is demonstrated in opposition to the prevailing opinion of modern philosophers about the tolerating spirit of Polytheism. Mr. H. admits that there was no persecution of one another among Idolaters, and accounts for it by shewing that on the subject of religion there were no conflicting opinions among them. He quotes the beautiful passage in which Gibbon gives a true account of the matter.

' "The various modes of worship," says Mr. Gibbon, "which



prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true, by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful.—The devout polytheist, though fondly attached to his national rites, admitted, with implicit faith, the different religions of the earth.—The thin texture of Pagan mythology was interwoven with various, but not discordant materials.—The deities of a thousand groves and a thousand streams, possessed, in peace, their local and respective influence. Nor could the Roman, who deprecated the wrath of the Tiber, deride the Egyptian, who presented his offering to the beneficent genius of the Nile. The visible powers of nature, the planets and the elements, were the same throughout the universe. The invisible governors of the moral world were inevitably cast in a similar mould of fiction and allegory.—The Greek, the Roman, and the barbarian, as they met before their respective altars, easily persuaded themselves, that, under various names, and with various ceremonies, they adored the same deities.” Vol. I. pp. 44, 45.

In such a state of things there could be no room for persecution. But even then religious intolerance was provided for by the statutes both of Greece and Rome, against the introduction of foreign deities and foreign religions. Christianity was the first system which put the spirit of toleration to the test. It encouraged and inculcated proselytism, it dissented from all the established creeds and forms of worship, it refused all intercommunity with other religions: in a word all its pretensions were *exclusive*. On these accounts it was considered inimical to private and public happiness, and its friends were regarded as the enemies both of gods and men. Mr. H. shews very satisfactorily, that all the persecutions of the Christians by the multitude, by the magistrates, by the emperors, both good and bad, proceeded from the same cause—hostility to the Christians on account of their refusing to join in idolatrous rites, and their steadfast adherence to their own profession. The former was construed into treason, and the latter ascribed to contumacy. The disingenuity and sophistry of Gibbon and Hume are well exposed in this chapter. We extract one passage in which the Oracle of the northern philosophy, is made to contradict himself most handsomely; and which explains the true origin of religious toleration.

‘ In his History of England, in narrating the events of 1644, and speaking of the Independents in that country, Mr. Hume says, “ Of all the Christian sects, this was the first which, during its prosperity as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration. And it is remarkable, that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism.” Here, notwithstanding all he has said in his Essay on the tolerating principle of Polytheists, exalting, in this respect, Paganism at the expence of the Christian religion, he now informs us, that

more than a thousand years after Paganism had ceased to exist, the doctrine of toleration owed its origin, not to the reasoning of philosophers or to Polytheists, but to a sect of Christians. Fanaticism and the Christian religion are, with this writer, synonymous terms.

‘ It is worthy of remark, that those Christians to whom Mr. Hume ascribes the origin of toleration, had a clear understanding of the meaning of *regeneration*, that fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion. Of their practical regard and adherence to that doctrine, as well as of their sentiments on toleration, Mr. Bailey, who was Principal of the college of Glasgow, and who attended the Assembly of Westminster in 1643, writes in one of his letters to Scotland, as follows: “ They will admit of none to be members of their congregations, of whose true grace and regeneration they have no good evidence. By this means they would keep out all the Christian church forty for one of the members of the best reformed churches.” —“ Many of them preach, and some print a liberty of conscience, at least the great equity of a toleration of all religions; that every man should be permitted without any fear, so much as of discountenance from the magistrate, to profess publicly his conscience, were he never so erroneous, and also live according thereunto, if he trouble not the public peace by any seditious or wicked practice.”

‘ From this account, we learn what were the views of those Christians on toleration, and that this principle was not taken up through any accidental occurrence, but necessarily arose from their knowledge of the nature of the Christian religion. For whoever understands the doctrine of regeneration, and acts upon it as they did, cannot, with any consistency, adopt the principles of persecution. By confounding the kingdom of Israel with the kingdom of heaven, Christians may fall into many mistakes, and have often done so. But when the distinction between these kingdoms is understood, at the foundation of which lies the doctrine of regeneration, these mistakes will be rectified. And the whole of the doctrine and precepts of that kingdom, “ which is not of this world,” will be seen to stand directly opposed to every kind of persecution.” p. 58—60.

Under the head of ‘ The Credibility of Miracles,’ which is the subject of the Third Chapter, we observe nothing particularly deserving of notice. Indeed, after the luminous and unanswerable Essay of Campbell on this subject, little is to be expected but a repetition or abridgement of his reasonings.

Chapter the Fourth is occupied in discussing ‘ the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Holy Scriptures;’ and contains a compendious view of the facts adduced by Lardner and Leslie, and of the reasonings of Paley, on this important subject. After what the first of these writers has collected, nothing remains to be gleaned from the early testimonies to the authenticity of Scripture; and after the reasonings of the last nothing remains to be argued respecting the conclusions to be drawn from them. It is enough for us to say that any person accus-



tommed to examine and to weigh evidence, must feel the irresistible force of the reasonings of Mr. Haldane.

In the Fifth Chapter, the 'Inspiration of the Scriptures,' is treated at considerable length. On this subject also much has been written, and a considerable difference of opinion subsists among the friends of Christianity. Mr. H. adopts the *plenary*, or what Warburton calls the *organic*, but which we would rather designate the *verbal* inspiration of the Sacred Volume. He contends for the absolute dictation of every word of the Old and New Testaments, and that the writers of Scripture are to be considered chiefly in the light of the Amanuenses of the Holy Spirit. This is substantially the opinion of Dr. Dick also in his valuable work on Inspiration. Many, however, who have no doubt of the inspiration of the Bible, do not go quite so far as this. Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Campbell explain it differently; and Warburton, in his usual style, describes the sentiment as 'a spurious opinion, begotten in the Jewish Church by superstition, and nursed up by mistaken piety in the Christian, till it hath almost past into an article of faith.' *Doct. of Grace*, p. 29.

Mr. H. brings within a narrow space all the arguments usually alleged on his side of the question; which is undoubtedly the safest side; and which we are not at present disposed to controvert. But we do not think that all difficulty has yet been removed. Mr. H.'s reasonings are frequently strong, but not always accurate or conclusive. He constantly confounds the Inspiration of the Scriptures with the dictating of the very words, and treats in the same manner the unbeliever in inspiration altogether, and the Christian who has doubts concerning his manner of explaining it. This we think injudicious. He maintains that all the views of this subject which have been given by those who distinguish between *superintendence*, *elevation*, and *suggestion*, are mere theories, unfounded and unsupported by any evidence. Now, we must maintain that Mr. H.'s scheme is quite as much a theory as any of those he opposes. The Scriptures assert generally their own inspiration, but say nothing as to the mode of it. And indeed, we doubt very much if the inspired writers themselves could have explained any thing of the matter. We may believe too much as well as too little; and by contending for more than we are bound to do, we may cast unnecessary stumbling blocks in the way of inquirers. The varieties of style to be found among the sacred writers; the minute apparent discrepancies in the testimonies of the Evangelists, which add powerfully to their credibility as witnesses, but seem to detract from their *verbal* inspiration; the differences which often exist between the Old Testament, and quotations from it in the New; the various

readings even in some important passages, which have crept into some parts of the original record itself; the difference between detailing facts which had come under the observation of the narrator, and communicating instructions suited to the state of the kingdom of Christ in all places and ages, or uttering predictions relating to its future degradation and glory; the fact, that some parts of the New Testament were written, not by the Apostles themselves, but by some of their attendants, probably under their directions: all these are points connected with this discussion, which yet require full and impartial consideration. Some of them are noticed by Mr. H.; but they still appear to merit a more extended examination than his plan admitted.

On this subject, Dr. Campbell expresses himself with his usual precision and candour. ‘People,’ says the learned writer, ‘do not sufficiently advert, when they speak on this subject, to the difference between the expression and the sentiment, but strangely confound these as though they were the same; yet no two things can be more widely different. The truths implied in the sentiments are essential, immutable, and have an intrinsic value: the words which compose the expression, are in their nature circumstantial, changeable, and have no other value than what they derive from the arbitrary inventions of men.—The great object of divine regard, and subject of revelation, is things, not words. And were it possible to obtain a translation of Scripture absolutely faultless, the translation would be in all respects, as valuable as the original.’

*Prel. Diss.—Diss. I—Part II. Sect. 23.*

We adopt with pleasure, notwithstanding these remarks, the sentiments of the following paragraph.

‘The testimony to the truth of the Scriptures, and consequently to the Messiah, which arises from their inspiration, is of the strongest kind. By presenting themselves to us as *inspired*, they bring the truth of their contents to the most decisive test. They occupy ground which nothing but *truth* and *perfection* could enable them to maintain. Could any thing absurd, or any thing wrong, be proved in the whole book; could the smallest flaw in the character or doctrine of the Author of Salvation, any degree of weakness, or of want of wisdom, be discovered, they must immediately be compelled to relinquish this ground. The claim of inspiration is an assertion of the infinite importance, and incomparable excellency of the matter which they contain, as what man, without them, never could have known; and also that it is delivered in a style suitable to the dignity of what they present. Has this been shewn to be otherwise? They contain many chains of prophecies, as well as multitudes of detached predictions, now fulfilling, or that have been fulfilled in different ages; and they defy the perspicacity of men to falsify a single one of them. They assert a number of facts respecting various particulars of the



creation, age, and history of the world. Of a general deluge; of the descent of all mankind from a single pair; of the original state of man, as civilized, and not savage; of the origin of a variety of universal customs, otherwise unaccountable, as of sacrifices, and of the division of time by weeks. Yet, after all the severest scrutinies of the most enlightened, as well as most inveterate opposers in ancient and modern times, not one fact which they assert has been disproved. On the contrary, these facts are constantly acquiring fresh evidence, from various sources. The harmony, too, of the doctrine of the several writers of Scripture, is particularly observable, and forms a striking contrast to the discordant opinions, and frequent inconsistencies, and self-contradictions of the Greek and Roman writers, on almost every subject on which they treat.' Vol. I. pp. 171—3.

From the subject of the Inspiration, Mr. H. passes in the next chapter, to that of 'The History of the Old Testament;' he epitomizes its facts and notices some of the objections brought against a few of them. We are much pleased with his reflections in the conclusion of this chapter, on the suitableness of the Land of Canaan for the scene of the Divine manifestations, and on the period and circumstances of our Lord's Incarnation.

'Let us now look back, and observe the remarkable concurrence of circumstances by which He to whom all his works are known from the beginning, and who ruleth in heaven and in earth, prepared the way for the coming of his Son. The fittest country on earth, as is evident at this day, after all the discoveries in geography that have been made, was provided. It is situated in the very centre of the world, and from it the communication is easier and shorter than from any other point, to Europe, to Africa, to the distant parts of Asia, and from thence to America, by the strait where, according to modern discoveries, these two continents nearly meet. A nation was prepared and put in possession of this country, where, under the particular providence of God, and by means of a written revelation of his will, they maintained his worship uncorrupted, when all the other nations of the world had fallen into idolatry. There they were preserved from being swallowed up by the great heathen monarchies with which they were surrounded, and by which, as a punishment for their sins, they were often overrun.

'The world was in the mean time agitated by the most dreadful contentions, and experienced the greatest revolutions, till it was completely subdued by one people, and brought under a government, the most powerful and the most civilized that had ever existed. At this time learning and philosophy had risen to their greatest height. "Almost all improvements of the human mind," says Mr. Hume, "had reached nearly to their state of perfection about the age of Augustus." A full trial was therefore made, of what human wisdom and science could effect in discovering the way to happiness, which was the great enquiry among the philosophers. But all of them wandered in the dark, amidst an endless variety of absurd opinions, without being able to come to any satisfactory conclusion on the subject.

'After a proof had thus been given of the truth of the declaration

that "the world by wisdom knew not God," the time arrived when the Sun of Righteousness was to arise with healing in his wings. That child was now to be born, whose name was to be called, "Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Father of the everlasting age, the Prince of Peace." A general expectation of his appearance was excited, and a universal peace was established, as a proper prelude for ushering him into the world. All that concerned the coming of the Messiah was to be made known in the fullest manner, and so as to give every opportunity for the immediate investigation and the future transmission of the testimony of so remarkable an event. "This thing was not done in a corner." That revelation which was to be delivered to mankind of the way which God had provided for them to escape from condemnation and death, and to attain eternal life, was not to appear in such a manner, that its origin could only be traced to some remote and obscure country, and to some distant and barbarous age. At the end of 4000 years from the creation of the world, it was to be made known in the most cultivated period of Greece and Rome. It was to originate, as Gibbon has characterized them, "in an age of science and history," and "in a celebrated province of the Roman empire."

'Thus we have seen a series of events taking place, from the first promise given to Adam, in the preservation of one family from the general catastrophe of the flood; in the selection of an individual, highly favoured of God, to whom that promise was renewed; in the separation from other nations of a whole people, who descended from him, to whom was delivered a written revelation of the will of God, and in the various unparalleled train of circumstances which marks their history from its commencement, all tending to one point, and all subservient to one grand design.' Vol. I. pp. 209—12.

We pass by Chapter the Seventh, on the 'Miracles', to attend more particularly to Chapter the Eighth, on 'The Types of the Old Testament.' This is a very important department of theological science, which has been sadly abused by one class of preachers and writers, and greatly despised by another. Mr. H. defines a Type to be 'a pattern, model, or visible sign of another object, which it represents before hand.' We have no objection to this definition so far as it goes; but it is defective. It overlooks the temporary or local purpose which types were intended to answer, and does not state with sufficient clearness a circumstance which we conceive to be essential to the nature of a scriptural type—*designed* representation. All the Types of the Old Testament, besides prefiguring future and spiritual things, answered certain purposes for the time then being. The sacrifices, priests, and things, times, and ceremonies,—all, as Mr. H. afterwards notices, had a plain and literal meaning. They were acts of worship as well as prefigurations; institutions productive of present advantage, as well as symbols of future good. Every real type must also have been a *designed prefiguration* of some part of the heavenly dispensation of our



Lord Jesus Christ. It may be easy by the help of imagination, or a little ingenuity, to trace a very striking analogy, an extraordinary resemblance, where nothing typical was really designed by God. Men have been wilder in their speculations as to types, than to any other thing in the word of God. What absurdity is to be found among the Fathers, on this subject! The followers of Cocceius and Hutchinson are scarcely inferior to them. Scripture characters have been absolutely burlesqued, the Old Testament institutions rendered ridiculous, and the Bible exhibited to the mockery of the world, by this childish, perverse disposition. Though Mr. H. is far more sober than many who have written on this subject, we cannot altogether exempt him from blame. He pushes some of his illustrations too far. His discussions concerning the eighth day, and his views of various characters, we cannot accord with. We want evidence of intentional prefiguration. We admit the resemblance; but this is not enough. Much of this might be found in the records of Pagan history, or Heathen mythology, as well as in the Bible, were we to employ the same researches in finding, and equal ingenuity in applying it. We have no idea that any public character, whose history is contained in the former part of Revelation, ought to be considered as a type of Christ in one way or another. No line can be drawn in making the application of the typical circumstances in these characters; for, as no fixed principles are laid down, what will appear rational to one man will appear absurd to another.

We are fully satisfied, as well as Mr. H. that the Mosaic Economy is to be viewed chiefly as a preparatory dispensation, intended to lead forward the attention of men to truths which were at first only partially revealed. But we may still inquire whether any fixed principles can be found by which we may be guided in the interpretation of its shadows and symbols. We are also aware that the meaning of many of the types may be more clearly understood by us than it could be by those to whom they were originally given. They were a species of hieroglyphics, or of cipher-writing, which could not be understood without the key: that key is furnished in the revelation of Christ. The mystery or secret which was long concealed by a veil, is now revealed by the testimony of the Apostles of the Lamb. The symbolical transactions of the former covenant, were the elements or first principles of that glorious and harmonious plan, which required ages to mature, but to which heaven has long since put the finishing hand. The law contains the letters of a Divine Alphabet, the Gospel explains their powers and uses, and combines them into a work full of the wisdom and glory of Jehovah. Types and prophecy are intimately connected together: types are prophetic actions; prophecies are types in words. The

law and the prophets thus unite in saying the same things : hence, the antitype is as necessary to the understanding of the type, as the event is, to explain the prophecy. All attempts therefore to explain the types of the Old Testament, without the aid of the New, is like explaining prophecy without a reference to its fulfilment. The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of the ancient types as well as of the ancient symbols.

Hence, we can conceive of only one of three ways of discovering what is typical and what is not. First, by ascertaining that the thing could not have originated with man, or that it has no meaning or importance but in connexion with its figurative design : such is sacrifice. Or, secondly, finding that in the appointment of the thing its symbolical intention is stated ; such was the Mosaic Tabernacle. Compare *Exod.* xxv. 40. with *Heb.* viii. 1--5. Or, thirdly, perceiving that the inspired writers of the New Testament, make this use of the character, institution, or event. Proceeding on these principles we have a defined tract marked out ; by following which we may be preserved from literalizing any thing on the one hand, or allegorizing it on the other. From this chapter of the work, we have, however, derived both pleasure and profit, and in the sentiment of the concluding paragraph we fully agree.

“ The law then contained a shadow of good things to come,” and the priests who offered gifts according to it, served unto the example of heavenly things. “ That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural ; afterwards that which is spiritual.” This mode of gradual developement of a literal and mystical signification of making natural things represent spiritual things, and one thing lead on to what was to follow, while it served the immediate purposes of regulation and instruction, affords irresistible evidence of a consistent and premeditated plan. Accordingly, this last is one principal use, which, in the New Testament, is made of the numerous typical representations of the Old. To these they call men’s attention, as they do to the prophecies, to prove that what had at last taken place, was only the grand consummation of what had long been shadowed forth.’ Vol I. p. 274.

With the types Mr. H. connects, in Chapter the Ninth, the ‘ Prophecies of the Old Testament.’ We have in this part of the work, some able reasonings and illustrations on the double sense of prophecy. In noticing the book of Psalms, which relates the experience of David and of the people of God, while a greater than David often appears in it, he very justly remarks,

‘ By passing over one or other of these senses of this branch of the prophecies, many have erred in contrary extremes. One party sees in them no other object but the Messiah, and so not only fails to observe the beauty and utility of the twofold interpretation, but also loses much of the benefit to be derived from contemplating a true



portrait, drawn by the Holy Spirit, of the experience of other believers, with which they might compare and confirm their own. The other party, erring in a more hurtful extreme, discern nothing further than a faithful delineation of the state and circumstances of men of like passions with themselves. Into the first of the above errors, Christians are chiefly led, by observing that it is often only with reference to their ultimate design, that these prophecies are quoted in the New Testament. Overlooking this circumstance, they point to these quotations as certain proofs of the soundness of their interpretation; although this manner of quotation only results from the connection in which the prediction is brought to view. When an Apostle passes over the primary sense, which had been long before received, it is no disparagement to that sense, nor the smallest indication that he does not admit what had been previously and universally acknowledged.' Vol. I. pp. 282, 283.

He goes over minutely and at great length, all the predictions relative to the Messiah, and in a very simple and scriptural manner connects them with the evangelical record of their fulfilment. Their number, their variety, their particularity, are marked and dwelt upon, to shew the impossibility of imposition on the part of their authors or their depositaries; while the necessity of their fulfilment in all their details, shews the impracticability of fraud or design in the writers of the New Testament. It is not on a solitary oracle, or a detached prediction, that the truth of our religion depends. We have trains of miracles, masses of symbolical prefiguration, chains of prophecies, occurring at different periods, appointed on various occasions, uttered in a vast variety of circumstances, recorded by a number of individuals living at remote periods from one another, and all preserved with the utmost care, by a people whose guilty conduct was the means of accomplishing, unconsciously to themselves, the main result of the whole. All this affords such a body of evidence at once to the truth of Scripture, and the character and design of the Saviour's work—the grand subject of which they treat—as nothing but eternal truth would supply, and as might lead the most confirmed sceptic to exclaim, "This is the 'finger of God!'" Mr. H. sums up the whole of the evidence he had adduced in a very judicious manner, and concludes this chapter and the first volume, by remarking,

'As the coming of Jesus Christ is so clearly pointed out in the Jewish Scriptures, it is of great importance to observe whether the determined and continued rejection of him by the Jewish nation, be founded on a distrust of the Divine inspiration of these records, of which they are the keepers, or whether it does not wholly arise from their mistaken interpretation of them. In the former case, they would have produced little or no effect, and would have been kept by them, if preserved at all, probably to be made use of like the Sibylline books, or the pretended responses of the Heathen oracles,

as a state engine, useful only to manage and overawe the multitude. But that this was not the light in which they viewed them, we have the most indubitable proof. No juggling deception, or underhand means, were employed to support the Jewish dispensation. In this, as in other respects, it was entirely different from the Heathen governments. The veil concealed the inner sanctuary from view, into which the High Priest entered alone. But all that it contained, and what he was to do there, as well as the particular interest the people had in his oblations, were fully made known to them. The Scriptures of the Old Testament were never intrusted only to the leaders, and kept back from the people, but were open to all, were read to all, and all were commanded to study them. Delivered to them in successive periods of their history, and recording events concerning themselves which that generation who received them witnessed, the Jews never entertained the smallest doubt of the authenticity and divine authority of their scriptures. The care and veneration with which they have preserved them in all the vicissitudes of their wonderful history, in their many captivities and long dispersion, abundantly attest this fact. They have all along admitted the authority of the prophecies, and have constantly applied them to their expected Messiah, while their obstinacy in refusing him is also foretold by the prophets. It is therefore in their *misinterpretation* of the Scriptures alone, that we are to look for the cause of their rejection of the Messiah. This is a material point, an important link in the chain of evidence of the Divine origin of the Christian religion. Consistently with this view of the matter, and in full confirmation of it, a *general expectation* of the Messiah prevailed among the Jews, at the time of the appearance of Jesus Christ.

Vol. I. pp. 350—352.

With a view of the 'General expectation of the Messiah,' Mr. H. commences the second volume of this work. Considering the antiquity of the Jewish records, their translation into Greek, the connexion between Judea and Egypt, and the intercourse between Egypt and the rest of the world, and the various and extensive dispersions of the Jewish people, we cannot be surprised that many of the facts of Revelation, and of the anticipations resulting from these facts, should be very generally diffused. It is rather wonderful that the knowledge of these things should have been so limited and incorrect as it appears to have been. The strange statements respecting Jewish affairs, of Sanchoniatho, Berosus, and Manetho, of Trogus Pompeius, Justin, and Tacitus, shew how little and how confused was the knowledge of the best informed heathen in these matters. Mr. H. endeavours to shew how general the expectation of a Messiah was among them, from the ancient Sibylline oracles, from the testimonies of Suetonius and Tacitus, and from the Fourth Eclogue and the Eneid of Virgil. The evidence of the Sibyls, we think extremely doubtful and imperfect; that of the Roman historians, is full and explicit; but though we have read re-



peatedly the Eclogue of Virgil, so often referred to on this subject, we confess we are very sceptical as to the poet's having any thing else in his head than the expected son of Pollio. It is true, the description is highly wrought; but this was to be expected from a courtly poet. It contains obvious allusions to the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, which shews that the Mantuan bard was not ignorant altogether of that wonderful people. His '*Ultima Etas*' admirably corresponds with the אחרית הימים or the σχολας ημερας, the last days of the prophets and apostles. His '*Venturo sæculo*' is the עולם הבא of the Hebrews, or the οικαμένην γην μέλλουσιν, the world to come, the future age of the Apostles. And indeed, the whole of his description of this golden age, which was about to commence, so manifestly alludes to various passages in Isaiah, that it is impossible to doubt that the poet had them in view. Still, we see no reason for thinking that Virgil looked any further than to Pollio and his wished-for offspring, which, unfortunately for the poet's augury, proved to be a daughter. Dr. Stukely, in his *Palæographia sacra*, endeavours in the same manner, to shew that Bacchus, spoken of in the 19th ode of the Second Book of Horace, must be understood of the Messiah. But there would be no end to these poetical reveries, any more than to typical amplifications.

Under the title of the '*Appearance of Messiah*,' Chapter the Second gives a brief view of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ, drawn from the Gospel history. In the following chapter, he examines the '*Testimony of the Apostles to the Messiah*;' and from the internal evidence of their sobriety, candour, and consistency, shews that they were neither enthusiasts nor impostors; neither deceived themselves nor deceivers of others. The following remark on our Lord's choosing Judas, who he knew would betray him, to be one of his disciples, deserves attention.

'The greatest enemy, with a choice of means for detection of fraud or collusion, could not have pointed out any thing better calculated to suit his purpose, than the placing of Judas among the Apostles. It was a remarkable provision made by the Lord, for increasing, to the highest point, the value of the testimony of the twelve Apostles. It was like the water which Elijah commanded to be poured around the altar, before the fire descended from heaven to consume the sacrifice. Judas also, as the other Apostles, although in a different way, has sealed his testimony with his blood.'—Vol. II. p. 49.

In the next chapter, he examines the testimony to Christianity borne by the primitive Christians, and proceeds to shew that this testimony is not contradicted by any opposing testimony. In the Sixth and Seventh Chapters, he shews that the great facts of the Gospel History are admitted by the early enemies of Christianity, and amply supported by the Jewish and Heathen his-

torians, and by various public edicts. In the Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Chapters, he notices the testimony to the Messiah from the success of the Gospel, from tradition, and from the prophecies that are at present fulfilling in the world. In these chapters there are many important discussions, and not a few things deserving of much attention; but we have no room either for quotation or remark. We regret this the less, because many of our readers must be quite familiar with the ground gone over, and because we wish to devote a page or two to the Conclusion of the work, which occupies about one-third of the last volume, and which, though rather disproportioned to the size of the rest, we consider by far the best part of the whole publication.

The Conclusion is entirely the Author's own, which cannot be said of the rest of the work, being greatly made up of quotation and extract. In it Mr. H. sums up his argument, concentrates into a point the various lines of evidence which he had brought forward, and shews the strength of the case he had made out. The following we consider as a most important passage.

'It has been observed, that the Apostles have drawn a most perfect character, which, except by themselves, has never been done in the world. This is very striking, especially when we consider that it is exhibited through a train of circumstances the most trying that can be conceived. But this perfection of character, astonishing as it is, and from its never having been before or since exhibited, we may confidently conclude beyond the power of uninspired men to produce, is but a part of a great whole. The uniting in this character all the lines of a long series of prophecies, delivered not systematically, but as occasions arose, not by one man but by many, not at one period, but through a succession of ages; the completing the correspondence and accomplishment of multiplied types, and of a complicated ritual; the unravelling of a series of miracles, and of a history of such singular features; the delivering at once the laws of a universal kingdom, involving the regulation of every motive of human action, and of every part of human conduct, which should challenge the approbation and defy the malevolence of the most enlightened successive ages, to point out in them either redundancy or defect, was all to be superadded to the delineation of a perfect character. When the whole together is taken into account, the possibility of imposture is left far out of sight. A work is accomplished, which, on any other principle than that of divine interposition, can never be accounted for. It is not necessary to bring into view the circumstances and attainments of the fishermen of Galilee who have accomplished this work; it was equally beyond the ability of all the men of the most cultivated minds upon earth. Other things, when they have been done once, may be imitated. When Columbus had discovered a new world beyond the Western Ocean, it was easy to sail to it again. But it is impossible to act over again the part of the Messiah and the Apostles. It could not be forged, and it cannot be imitated.



\* Let any set of men combine to write such a book as the Bible. Let their plan be laid so as to extend through a period of 1500 years. Let those who shall first enter upon the work get others to succeed them during that space of time. Let them write history, poetry, theology, and prophecies concerning the state of the world. Let them at length get one to come forward in whom all that they have written shall find its accomplishment. Let him be born in the place they had fixed, of the family they had foretold, at the exact time they had predicted. Let him be exhibited in the most critical situations, in the midst of enlightened, powerful, and determined adversaries, while they still uphold him as perfect, and defy his enemies to prove the contrary. Let his own death be a part of their plan, which he himself shall foretel. Let a number of persons arise immediately afterwards to carry forward the design, charge the government under which he suffered as his murderers, affirm he is alive, and has given them convincing evidence that he will reward them in a future state. Let these men support their doctrine by an appeal to miracles openly wrought before enemies armed with civil power, and let them adhere to their testimony at the expence of life, and every thing dear in this world. Let them promulgate a new religion and code of laws completely subversive of every existing religion on earth, and directly opposed to the indulgence of the strongest passions of the human heart. Let this religion, by the force of its own evidence, win its way through the world; overthrow every opposing system; extend its triumphs, and finally stand its ground, in the most civilized countries, in spite of the most learned adversaries. And let the character of the leader, as set forward by his associates, be thus vindicated as "the light of the nations." Who does not see the total impracticability, the absolute absurdity, of such an attempt? As soon might men of understanding be induced to undertake to climb up to the stars, as to propose to themselves such a scheme; yet all that has been thus supposed, has been accomplished in Jesus Christ.' Vol. II. pp. 275—278.

After some reasonings respecting the Mosaic system, which lead him to animadvert on certain statements of Mr. Hume, he extracts from Dr. Beattie's Essay, a summary of that philosopher's doctrines, metaphysical and moral, on which he makes some very pertinent reflections. He then proceeds to shew how admirably adapted the religion of Christ is to man's present state. The view which it gives of the perfections of God, of the depravity and wretchedness of our fallen race, of the provision made for our recovery in the glorious constitution of mercy, which exhibits a Divine Saviour and an all-perfect Sacrifice, of the influences of the Spirit, and of the promise of pardon and eternal life through the belief of the testimony concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, is such as could never have been imagined by man, and reflects the highest glory on the wisdom and goodness of God. He shews that salvation cannot be procured by works, nor by repentance, nor by any thing else of man's doing;

that it must be, from first to last, of grace. But he shews, at the same time, how this grace provides for good works and holy dispositions.

‘ This grace of God, then, which has appeared to him, providing both for the *acceptance* and for the reward of his obedience, is in itself in every respect *holy*, and its whole tendency is *holy*. It therefore “ teaches him, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, he should “ live soberly, righteously, and godly,” in expectation of the full possession of the blessings set before him at the glorious appearing of his Lord and Saviour. Every thing in the Gospel is conducive to his sanctification. The view he has received of Christ dying for his sins, and of the perfect law of God, just in as far as he discerns these truths, humbles him, and brings down that proud independence of spirit, which formerly prevented him from submitting to God. God, according to his promise, has put his fear in his heart, that he may not depart from him, and that he may serve him with reverence; for to the workers of iniquity God is a consuming fire. In proportion to his faith, he is filled with love and gratitude to God; and being brought to know his proper place, both as the creature of God, and as his son, he is convinced of the duty and necessity of yielding obedience, in order to that communion with God to which he has been called by the grace of the Gospel. Two cannot walk together unless they be agreed. And no creature of God can hold fellowship with him, unless he submit to him. Ungodly men may turn the grace of God into lasciviousness, but in every respect the Gospel is a doctrine according to godliness. Its language, its operation, is “ HOLINESS “ UNTO THE LORD.” “ As he which hath called you is *holy*, so be “ ye *holy* in all manner of conversation.” Vol. II. pp. 313, 14.

Having finished his illustrations of the plan of salvation, all of which are at once simple and scriptural, Mr. Haldane addresses himself to persons who *pervert* the Gospel, that is, turn it into a system of self-righteousness; to persons who *abuse* the Gospel, by making it subservient to their love of sin; to persons who *neglect* the Gospel, by trifling with its important declarations, and living according to this present evil world; to persons who *oppose* the Gospel, under the influence of certain vain speculations or rooted aversion to its holy principles; and, finally, to those who *receive* the Gospel as the word of God, and act according to it. We are highly pleased with the whole of this part of the book, and consider it adapted to be very useful. It is almost every thing we could wish in a work on the evidences of Christianity, following up the appeal to the understanding, by such addresses to the heart, as by the Divine blessing, may lead men at once to know and to feel the vast importance of the subject. It is by such ‘ manifestations of the ‘ truth,’ that the great object of all writing and preaching about Christianity is likely to be gained. It is thus that the conscience, dead in sin, may be awakened, and that entrance be



procured for the word of God, which giveth light, and comfort, and salvation. Happy is the man who is made to see and feel in this manner; he is put in possession of the richest blessing that heaven can bestow on a sinner, and to which no other favour can bear to be compared.

‘The Scriptures give him so consistent a view of the character of God, and so just a representation of this world; they so entirely correspond with his inward convictions and experience; they contain so exact a description of his own heart and of all its workings; they teach a doctrine so well suited to whatever state he may be in, whether of prosperity or of adversity, of youth or of old age, of health or of sickness: so adapted even to the hour of death, when nothing he ever possessed or hoped for in the world could be of the smallest use to him, that he *knows* “of the doctrine that it is of God.” Although therefore he may be entirely ignorant of the evidence derived from history and other sources for the truth of the Scriptures; although he may not be able to dispute for them, or to unravel the many objections which the men of this world, “sporting with their own deceivings,” devise against them; yet as soon could they persuade him that the sun does not shine in the firmament, or that the world itself does not exist, (truths which, in their wisdom, some of them have gravely doubted), as that the Bible does not contain the true sayings of God.” And not for ten thousand worlds could they induce him to part with the smallest portion of that hope which he has, as an anchor of his soul, both sure and steadfast, of an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven after this world and its works shall be burnt up. He looks, therefore, not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.’ Vol. II. p. 401.

We have entered into an unusually long detail in our account of these volumes; and we have been induced to do so, partly on account of the importance of the subject of which they treat, and partly to remove, as far as our influence may go, an obstacle in the way of their circulation. The name of their Author, we have some reason to think, will be a sufficient reason with many for not looking at the book. For various reasons, into the nature or justice of which it is no part of our business to enter at present, strong prejudice has been pretty generally excited against Mr. H. Had he been a Churchman, we think we could have promised his performance an extensive circulation; but Mr. H. is a Dissenter. We think it but right to say, however, that the present publication knows nothing of him as a Dissenter, and nothing of his peculiar sentiments as a Dissenter, whatever these may be. It contains principles and reasonings in which Mr. H. must be joined by every lover of our common Christianity; and whatever may be thought of the man, it is impossible for a Christian not to wish well to the work.

That our opinion of this publication is highly favourable, must be evident from all we have said. We should be sorry if any strictures we have made, or may yet make, should lead any to imagine that it does not deserve an attentive perusal. We consider it calculated for extensive usefulness, and are convinced that it is adapted to afford much benefit both to believers and unbelievers, from its cogent reasonings and scriptural illustrations.

As we are desirous of increasing the usefulness of this work, we shall, before dismissing it, use the liberty of offering a few remarks to Mr. Haldane's consideration, on what we deem its imperfections.

We regret that he has not introduced a chapter on the Internal Evidence of Revelation. Here and there he has noticed it; but it deserved a full and distinct elucidation. Indeed, we were surprised at the omission. Looking at the extent of the plan of the work, we were disappointed at not meeting with a special discussion of a point, which we think Mr. H. well qualified to illustrate and establish. His views of the Gospel are excellent, and his statements respecting its adaptation to human guilt and misery, shew how profoundly acquainted he is with the subject. His Conclusion, indeed, may be viewed as bringing the internal evidence of the Gospel to bear upon the hearts and consciences of his readers; but we should have liked to see the argument as well as the application. It is true it may be said that this has been supplied by Fuller and Gregory; but so has the External Testimony by many, and to a much greater extent than by Mr. H. And it ought to be recollected, that what the Gospel is itself, is a more inexhaustible subject than the outward proof that it has come from God.

In referring to testimonies, and making extracts, we regret that Mr. H. has rarely ever quoted his authorities. Page after page is enclosed within commas, but no reference below to the quarter whence they are taken. Now, this we think is neither doing justice to the subject nor to the reader. If an uninformed person examine these volumes, (and for such they are evidently designed,) and be desirous of extending his investigations further, or of ascertaining the truth of the alleged facts on which many of the reasonings are built, he will derive scarcely any assistance from this work. The whole rests on the fidelity of Mr. H. Of that fidelity we entertain no doubt; but we feel convinced this work would have been more useful, had it contained accurate references to all the sources from which aid has been borrowed. This omission is scarcely excusable, as the book must have been before the Author, when writing the extract, and consequently nothing but carelessness, or a mistaken idea that it was not



necessary, can have prevented the notation of the title and page of the work.

Another thing we must notice. The work is loosely composed. It is the production of a vigorous, well-informed mind, but not of a person whose taste has been improved by cultivating an acquaintance with classical literature. It has been written, we presume, in haste, and little time employed in dressing its periods, and modelling its language. The subject seems so entirely to have engrossed the Author's attention, that he forgot to attend to the vehicle of his thoughts. We could point out many slips of language, which, if Mr. H. himself had not patience or inclination to attend to himself, he might easily have found a friend more accustomed to literary composition, who would have been willing to do for him. We would recommend him to get this done, if he should publish another edition in English: we say English, for we are happy to be informed that the Author has procured it to be translated and published in French, and that he is now employed on the Continent, in extending its circulation. We consider it well suited to the state of infidelity in France, and earnestly wish it may be productive of the most important good to infidels abroad, and to infidels at home.

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Art. II. *The Life of Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino*: by the Author of the *Life of Michael Angelo*. And the Characters of the most celebrated Painters of Italy. By Sir Joshua Reynolds. Small 8vo. 8s. 6d. London. Murray. 1817.

**THIS** compilation has cost Mr. Duppa very little labour. The life of Raffael occupies one hundred and seven small and widely-printed pages; sixty-five more are fitted up with extracts from Sir J. Reynolds; then follows an Appendix; and the whole is concluded with an Index, so dexterously managed, as to fill fourteen pages. Such are the contents of this slight volume. Of the original matter, we cannot conscientiously speak in terms of very high praise; we have not been able to discover in it any extraordinary brilliancy or elegance of composition, nor much acuteness of critical investigation. The narrative proceeds distinctly but somewhat feebly along through its various stages, and the occasional commentary appears very flat to him who has been accustomed to the perspicuous elegance of Reynolds, and the pungent originality of Fuseli.

Notwithstanding all these defects, however, common to all his publications, but most conspicuous in the present work, we feel some obligation to Mr. Duppa, for his various essays in the literature of the Arts. We apprehend that in this country, there has not been, hitherto, even among Artists in general, a sufficiently correct acquaintance with the history and theory of Art; and whatever tends to carry forward the public mind in that

direction, must have an effect more or less beneficial, in proportion to the talent with which it shall make its appeal. We are far from intending to go the full length of accusing English Artists of want of science, and we are too sensible of the rare endowments and opportunities which are necessary requisites to a sound critic on matters of Art, to challenge much importance to our own opinions; but we shall venture the remark, that the simplicity and straight-forwardness, if we may be allowed the expression, of the English character, appear to us even too conspicuous in the Artists of England. While the Artist of the Continent is incessantly besieging the Cast and the Lay-figure, and consequently sacrificing nature, truth, and force, to attitude, drapery, and scenic effect, the Englishman is never satisfied without the living individual; and this, though the result of sounder and more genuine feeling, has the injurious consequence of destroying ideal and heroic character. The same principle of mere reality, without sufficient regard to selection and generalization, has also been too prevalent among our painters of landscape. We are not, however, without some splendid exceptions in both departments, and we have recently had the satisfaction of witnessing, in Mr. Cristall's *Latona and the Lycian shepherds*, a gigantic step towards a style of art, within its own peculiar range more truly scientific in its aim and principle, than any with which this country had previously been conversant.

Nothing can have a more decided tendency to promote this refinement of our taste, than an habitual recurrence to the best models; and under this impression we feel grateful to Mr. Duppa for his various publications on the subject of the arts. In none of them has he ever compromised sound principle, and they have all been dedicated to the memory of Artists worthy of lasting remembrance. We feel inclined also to renew our thanks to him for the present performance. Slight as it is, 'it calls up him' who came nearer to perfection than any other painter of modern times; who combined in his style of conception and execution, more excellences and fewer defects, than any of his rivals; and who deserves a more splendid memorial than any which has been yet consecrated to his name, either by princes, poets, artists, or biographers.

Raffaello, the only child of Giovanni Sanzio, was born at Urbino, on the 28th of March, 1483. His father, himself an artist, though 'of no professional celebrity,' perceiving in his son early indications of pictorial talent, placed him under the tuition of Pietro Perugino, a painter at that time in the highest repute, who cherished, admired, and survived his pupil. So early and so decidedly was his superiority manifested, that when only sixteen, he assisted Pinturicchio in adorning the library of



the cathedral of Sienna, with 'ten large pictures,' representing 'the history of Pius II.' The assistance rendered by Raffael, went to the full extent of making nearly the whole of the designs, beside taking an ample share in the execution. From Sienna he went to Florence, 'where Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo flourished with rival pre-eminence.' This eventful visit gave a new impulse to his genius, and a new direction to his aims. From the dry Gothic mannerism of Perugino, to the 'diviner inspiration' of Michael Angelo, centuries of learning and labour were passed over in an instant by the flight of genius, and the intellect of Raffael was of capacity and strength enough, to compass the intermediate steps, and to press at once to the 'forefront' of the strife and rivalry of kindred minds. At the same time, his diligence was unremitted, and he suffered no season or opportunity to escape him unimproved. He obtained from Fra Bartolomeo, instruction in colouring and light and shade, and 'the Brancacci and Corsini chapels in the church of the Carmelites, painted by Masaccio were his favourite school.' This last and very extraordinary man, died at the early age of twenty-seven, yet he had lived long enough to extend the limits of his art, and to produce works which Raffaello in after times thought worthy of imitation. In 1508, Sanzio was summoned to Rome by Julius II. and immediately employed in the decoration of the Vatican. In the series of the apartments ennobled by the pencil of Raffael, Mr. Fuseli, with great ingenuity of conception and richness of description, represents him as having intended an 'immense allegoric drama,' portraying 'the origin, the progress, extent, and final triumph of *Church Empire*.' We shall quote at length Mr. Duppa's description of these celebrated pictures, and then bring forward Mr. Fuseli's general summary of their characters.

'Passing through these rooms, now called the Stanze of Raffaello, in honour of his name, the first is a grand saloon dedicated to the Emperor Constantine, in which are represented four principal events in his reign, the most important to the cause of Christianity and the sovereignty of the Catholic church. The Vision of the Labarum, the overthrow of Maxentius on the Milvian Bridge, the Baptism of Constantine himself, and his Donation of the City of Rome to Pope Silvester I.

'The second Stanza exhibits four miracles; two from sacred history, and two from the legends of the church. The overthrow of Heliodorus in the Temple, and St. Peter's Delivery out of Prison: the Rout of Attila and his army by the preternatural appearance of St. Peter and St. Paul, and consecrated Wafer at Bolsena, bleeding to testify the real presence.

'The third Stanza is dedicated to those branches of knowledge which serve most to elevate the human mind, and dignify our nature ;

of which the principal subjects are, Poetry, Philosophy, Jurisprudence, and Theology.

'The subjects of the fourth Stanza are, two historical, from the life of Leo III., and two miraculous, from the life of Leo IV. The first two are Leo's public protestation of his innocence of the charges alleged against him by the conspirators Campulus and Paschal; and his Coronation of the Emperor Charlemagne. The two miraculous subjects are, a Storm raised, and the destruction of the Saracens effected by the presence of Leo IV. at the Port of Ostia, when an invasion was pending; the other picture represents his staying a conflagration which threatened the destruction of St. Peter's, by the exhibition of a crucifix from the balcony of the church.

'These, with smaller pictures on the ceilings of the second and third Stanza, are all designed by Raffaello, and painted in fresco by himself, his scholars and assistants; and three centuries of unabated admiration have already made their eulogium, to which it will now be in vain to add or to diminish.' pp. 26—31.

'Such,' remarks Mr. Fuseli, after his general description of the subjects and intent of the series, 'is the rapid outline of the cycle painted or designed by Raphael on the compartments of the stanzas sacred to his name. Here is the mass of his powers in poetic conception and execution, here is every period of his style, his emancipation from the narrow shackles of Pietro Perugino, his discriminations of characteristic form, on to the heroic grandeur of his line. Here is that master-tone of fresco painting, the real instrument of history, which with its silver purity and breadth unites the glow of Titiano and Correggio's tints. Every where we meet the superiority of genius, but more or less impressive, with more or less felicity in proportion as each subject was more or less susceptible of dramatic treatment. From the bland enthusiasm of the Parnassus, and the sedate or eager features of meditation in the school of Athens, to the sterner traits of dogmatic controversy in the dispute of the Sacrament, and the symptoms of religious conviction or inflamed zeal at the mass of Bolsena. Not the miracles as we have observed, the fears and terrors of humanity inspire and seize us at the conflagration of the Borgo: if in the Heliodorus the sublimity of the vision balances sympathy with astonishment, we follow the rapid ministers of grace to their revenge, less to rescue the temple from the gripe of sacrilege, than inspired by the palpitating graces, the helpless innocence, the defenceless beauty of the females and children scattered around; and thus we forget the vision of the Labarum, the angels and Constantine in the battle, to plunge in the wave with Maxentius, or to share the agonies of the father who recognizes his own son in the enemy he slew.' *Fuseli's Lectures*, p. 135.

We shall take this opportunity of making a general reference



to Mr. F.'s work, for illustrations of Raffael's professional character. The reader will there find the Frescoes of the Vatican, the Cartoons, the Transfiguration, and other great works of this illustrious artist, 'set forth to the life,' in language sometimes harsh, quaint, and fantastic, but far more frequently rich, powerful, eloquent, original, and picturesque.

Mr. Duppa very properly adverts to the often cited example of Sir Joshua Reynolds, in illustration of the faint impression produced by the works of Raffael 'on a mind not prepared or 'cultivated to enjoy the higher excellencies of the art.' When Sir Joshua first visited the Vatican, his feelings wrought up to the highest pitch of expectation, he found nothing answerable to his anticipations. He had entered upon a new world of art, and he was wholly unprepared for the transition. His education, habits, and pre-conceived notions, were adapted to a different state of things; he had to learn a new language, and to train his mind and feelings to loftier associations. Happily, his intellectual and moral stamina were fully equal to the difficulty; he entered the school of Raffael with a kindred spirit, and with calm, steady, and successful determination. The works of Raffael have no tendency to make fanatics. There is no blaze of colour, no fierceness of line, no 'bravura of hand;' nothing, in short, to excite the stupid admiration of self-constituted *cognoscenti*; but they are fraught with excellencies which, though the pen may describe them, and the pencil or graver may imitate them, none are qualified to understand and admire, those excepted, who, like Reynolds, have first been taught to suspect their judgement, and then to form and to direct it in the schools of Italy and Greece. The feelings of Sir Joshua, on this occasion, are thus admirably described by himself.

'Though disappointed, I did not for a moment conceive or suppose that the name of Raffaello, and those admirable paintings in particular, owed their reputation to the ignorance and prejudice of mankind; on the contrary, my not relishing them, as I was conscious I ought to have done, was one of the most humiliating circumstances that ever happened to me. I found myself in the midst of works executed upon principles with which I was unacquainted: I felt my ignorance, and stood abashed. All the indigested notions of painting, which I had brought with me from England, where the art was in the lowest state, were to be totally done away, and eradicated from my mind.' pp. 33, 34.

In 1515, Raffael, who had studied the principles of architecture under the celebrated Bramante, was, on the recommendation of that architect, appointed 'his successor to conduct the 'great work of St. Peter's;' but it does not appear to be exactly ascertained what part of the present structure was executed under his direction. In the instrument by which he was nomi-

nated to this office, he was empowered, by the Pope, to supply himself with materials from the ruins in and surrounding Rome. It was in pursuance of the same barbarous plan, that Michael Angelo, when building the Farnese Palace, half demolished 'the Colosseo,' and that glorious structure was in a fair way of being entirely levelled by incessant depredation, when Benedict XIV. with at least great good taste, consecrated it, assigned to it all the privileges of a church, and thus arrested the progress of dilapidation. Mr. D. with what correctness we are unable to say, ascribes to the subject of his Memoir the invention of coupled columns. About this period, Raffael painted a figure of Isaiah, for the Augustinians. The parsimonious monks quarrelled with the price, and the dispute was referred to Michael Angelo, who, in a high spirit of liberality, settled it at once, by telling them 'that the knee alone was worth the money:' praise of the greatest value, as coming from one of unrivalled skill in anatomical detail. Raffael also attempted sculpture, but with what success does not clearly appear.

' In the midst of his professional reputation, Raffaello was equally caressed by the learned and the great. Ariosto, and Bembo, and Castiglione, were among the number of his most intimate friends. Bottari says that the Cavalier Carlo del Pozzo had an original letter by Raffaello addressed to Ariosto, in which he requested to know the characters that should be introduced into his picture of the Dispute of the Sacrament, best calculated to illustrate and dignify that subject.

' He was so much beloved by those of his own profession, that, according to Vasari, whenever he went to Court he was attended from his own house by a numerous train of distinguished painters, who accompanied him on those occasions to honour him \*. Neither was his reputation confined to Rome or to Italy. Albert Durer, who was the most distinguished artist north of the Alps, solicited his friendship from the Netherlands; and Raffaello returned his civilities with corresponding courtesy and politeness †.

' Leo X. regarded him with the highest esteem: he was much about his person, was made groom of the chamber, and from the well known attachment and munificence of that Pope to Raffaello, it is said that he had reason to expect the honours of the purple; which is the alleged cause for his not marrying the niece of Cardinal di Bibbiena, who was desirous of the alliance: but the validity of these facts have been

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\* . . . . non andava mai a Corte, che partendo di casa non avesse seco cinquanta pittori, tutti valenti, e buoni, che gli facevano compagnia per onorarlo.—*Vasari*, vol. iii. p. 134.

† Albert Durer was born at Nuremburg 1471, and died 1528. At once as a specimen of his abilities, and as a mark of his esteem, he sent Raffaello his own portrait; and in return, Raffaello sent Albert Durer a number of prints by Marc' Antonio from his own designs, and several original drawings.



questioned, and upon the degree of credit to which Vasari and Zuccheri are entitled, their probability must depend.

'At this period, in the meridian of life, and in the full possession of all its enjoyments, Raffaello became an unfortunate victim to the ignorance of his physicians. He was suddenly attacked by a violent fever, and they immediately bled him, instead of adopting a different mode of treatment; and he instantly became so reduced, that he had only time to make his will, and to conform to the last offices of religion.

'Thus terminated, on the 7th of April, 1520, the life of the most illustrious painter of modern times.' pp. 69—73.

Such was the career and such the premature end of this illustrious artist, who is well termed, by Fuseli, 'the father of dramatic painting, the painter of humanity, the warm master of our sympathies.'

'What effect,' he proceeds, 'of human connexion, what feature of the mind, from the gentlest emotion to the most fervid burst of passion, has been left unobserved, has not received a characteristic stamp from that examiner of man? M. Angelo came to nature, nature came to Raphael—he transmitted her features like a lucid glass, unstained, unmodified. Energy with propriety of character and modest grace poise his line, and determine his correctness. Perfect human beauty he has not represented; no face of Raphael's is perfectly beautiful; no figure of his, in the abstract, possesses the proportions that could raise it to a standard of imitation; *form* to him was only a vehicle of character or pathos, and to those, he adapted it in a mode, and with a truth, which leaves all attempts at emendation hopeless. His composition always hastens to the most necessary point as its centre, and from that, disseminates; to that, leads back, as rays, all secondary ones. Group, form, and contrast, are subordinate to the event, and common-place is ever excluded. His expression is unmixed and pure, in strict unison with, and decided by character, whether calm, animated, agitated, convulsed, or absorbed by the inspiring passion, it never contradicts its cause, and is equally remote from tameness and grimace: the moment of his choice never suffers the action to stagnate or to expire; it is the moment of transition, the crisis big with the past and pregnant with the future. His invention connects the utmost stretch of possibility, with the most plausible degree of probability, in a manner that equally surprises our fancy, persuades our judgment, and affects our heart.'

Sir Joshua, in his comparison of Raffael and Michael Angelo, remarks of the former, that his

materials are generally borrowed, though the noble structure is his own. His excellency lay in the propriety, beauty, and majesty of

his characters, the judicious contrivance of his composition, his correctness of drawing, purity of taste, and skilful accommodation of other men's conceptions to his own purpose. Nobody excelled him in that judgement with which he united to his own observations on nature, the energy of Michael Angelo, and the beauty and simplicity of the antique.' p. 39.

We shall not detain our readers by many remarks on the extracts from Sir Joshua Reynolds, which are so largely, though not liberally, given in this volume. We think that, valuable as his criticisms are, and in many instances expressed with great beauty of language, they are yet too general, and from this circumstance are sometimes weak and unprofitable. In turning the pages over, in which the opinions of Sir J. are here recorded, we were struck with, as it seemed to us, the insufficiency of the ground on which he ascribes to the ancients the same excellence in colouring as in design. His first proof is drawn from the following passage in Pliny: *Quod absoluta opera atramento in linebat ita tenui, ut id ipsum repercussu claritates colorum excitaret; et tum ratione magna, ne claritas colorum oculorum aciem offenderet.* This he quotes as decidedly establishing the fact, that Apelles used 'glazing or 'scambling,' such as was practised by 'Titian.' Now, without entering on direct opposition to an opinion so strongly maintained by so competent a judge, we would suggest that in his translation he evades the word *repercussu*, in which there seems to lie some difficulty. His second proof is inferred from the circumstance 'of some of the principal painters of antiquity 'using four colours only;' and he treats this as the effect of their superior skill, on the ground that 'the fewer the colours, 'the cleaner will be the effect of those colours.' This appears to us very much like arguing from defect to excellence, and at any rate can be considered only as begging the question.

On the merits of Reynolds as a painter, Mr. Duppa has not said any thing new or striking; but we perfectly agree with him in his high estimation of Sir J.'s talents, and in his contempt for the *pseudo dilettante*, who find perpetual food for cavilling in the fading colours of some of our great countryman's productions. At the same time, we must take the liberty of saying that we should have felt ourselves more indebted to Mr. D. if he had gone a little deeper into his subject, and afforded us a few truly scientific illustrations of Sir J.'s character as an artist. This deficiency we do not feel ourselves quite prepared at present to supply; but since Mr. Duppa has dealt only in praise, we shall take upon ourselves the ungracious task of somewhat qualifying his loose encomiums. We want language to express our admiration of some of Sir J.'s lighter productions: his Puck, for instance, is the most perfect *imbodying* of a poetical con-



ception, all but inimitable, that imagination ever moulded or pencil realized; but still it appears to us that the prevailing defect of Sir Joshua's mind may be traced in all his works, whether in art or in literature. Elegance, suavity, fancy, playfulness, richness, with a thousand other exquisite qualities, glow and sparkle in all his compositions. But they are defective in power; his figures want muscle, and his style fails in strength. His language, though not, strictly speaking, feeble, sometimes reminds us of feebleness; his practical illustrations are invaluable, but his ideas are too frequently tending towards generalization. His pictures cannot be justly charged with debility of conception, or infirmity of execution; yet they are proofs rather of fertility than of force, and of readiness and rapidity, rather than of science and strength. His professional works never convey to us the idea of power grappling with and quelling difficulties, from which common energies recoil. They seldom elevate the mind with that feeling of greatness and expansion, which comes at once upon us, when standing in front of the marbles of the Parthenon, and visits us with an influence milder and more gradual, but not less tense and mastering, when we have, at length, after patient and anxious study, qualified ourselves to comprehend and relish the scarcely less than perfect productions of Raffael's intellect and hand.

The list of Raffaello's paintings and designs is imperfect, but useful; and as far as it is executed, is sufficiently well done. Mr. Duppa has inserted the interesting account of the manner in which a celebrated picture of Raffael's was transferred from decayed wood to canvas, by Hacquin, under the direction of five members of the French Institute. But we feel some surprise at a difficulty which draws from Mr. D. a very just, but not very aptly introduced eulogy on the French language, as 'extremely rich in terms of art.' It appears, that during the operation, it was necessary 'to take away away certain inequalities of the surface, which had arisen from its *unequal shrinking*'—*recoquillement*;—for which 'term of art,' no 'adequate word,' it seems, 'occurs in English.' Now, in the first place, this word is not a term of art, but one of general use; and, secondly, we are at a loss to account for Mr. D.'s want of acquaintance with one of the most common words in the English language—*cockling*—precisely the same word, and which is used on similar occasions to that in which it occurs in the original of the passage in question.

Art. III. *A History of the Jesuits ; to which is prefixed, A Reply to Mr. Dallas's Defence of that Order.* 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 392, 467. Price 1l. 4s. Baldwin and Co. 1816.

(Continued from Page 512.)

**B**EFORE we enter on the consideration of the "History," we shall present our readers an extract from the "Reply," for the purpose of putting them into possession of the information which it contains on the present state of the Jesuits in this kingdom. The remarks with which the quotation commences, are directed against Mr. Dallas's statement, that, on the destruction of the Jesuits' College, at Liege, in the year 1794, 'A FEW of these ancient men, who had weathered the storm, having availed themselves of the indulgence of the British Government, on leaving the Netherlands, sought an asylum in their own country, and that they here subsist in the security of conscious innocence.'

'If, in making this statement, Mr. Dallas was ignorant of the large Establishment of Jesuits, which has subsisted for the last thirty years, in the heart of our Protestant Empire, he was altogether unqualified for the office which he has assumed, of affording information on the subject of the Jesuits: if, on the other hand, Mr. Dallas was aware of the facts which are about to be noticed, the suppression of those facts bears a far more culpable aspect. It remains for him to decide which of these remarks apply to the erroneous and defective representation which he has thought proper to afford to the public.'

'Judging from his poetical statement, it would appear that A FEW old and weather-beaten men, who had escaped the revolutionary storms of the Continent, had adopted the language which SHAKESPEARE puts into the mouth of WOLSEY\*, and had thrown themselves upon the commiseration which it was impossible they could abuse.'

'Now, how does the fact really stand? A reference to the extensive and increasing Establishment of Jesuits at Stonyhurst, near Preston, in Lancashire, will best answer the question: at this place the Order of Jesuits has for thirty years past, possessed a spacious College, which is principally a College of Jesuits; is amply provided with all the *materiel* and *morale* of Jesuitism, and is carrying on the work of Catholic Instruction and Protestant Conversion, upon the most large and extensive scale! The studies at this place are conducted upon the same system and to the same extent as at the Catholic Universities abroad; and there are regular professors in Divinity, Mathematics, Philosophy, Astronomy, &c. The College, which is a very large building, is capable of containing at least four or five hundred pupils, independently of Professors, Managers, and domestics. It is

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\* "An old man broken with the storms of state,  
"Is come to lay his weary bones among you;  
"Give him a little earth for charity."



supposed to contain at this time five hundred or more individuals of various descriptions.

'About eleven hundred acres of land are attached to the College, which the Jesuits keep in their own hands, and farm themselves. A Jesuit (who would be called, in a similar situation in a Nobleman's Family, the Land Steward) has the direction and management of the Land, with a very liberal salary, besides board and accommodation. The Jesuits consume the produce of the Land in the College, and also make large purchases in addition, from the Farmers and Graziers for many miles round; from which circumstance their influence is considerably augmented, and their principles are widely diffused throughout the country. Adjoining to the College, they have suitable Offices for all manner of Tradesmen and Artificers, such as Tailors, Shoe-makers, Smiths, Carpenters, Butchers, Bakers, &c.

'They have Pupils from various parts of the Continent, from Ireland, and from different parts of Great Britain: they have, of course, a correspondence with most parts of the world, and they adopt particular precautions with regard to their Letters. Their present number of Pupils may be from two to three hundred, and the general average for the last twenty-five years cannot have fallen far short of that number.

'At Hirst Green, within a quarter of a mile of the College of Stonyhurst, is a Seminary for boarding and educating young boys, preparatory to their entering the College of Stonyhurst. The apartments and grounds of this initiatory Establishment, are appropriated solely to those who are destined for the superior College; and the almost entire seclusion of these youths from all intercourse with mankind, which takes place during their probationary studies, is not calculated to remove the distrust and apprehension which are naturally excited by the mystery which attaches more or less to Jesuitism in general, and to this fact in particular.

'The amount of the accumulating Capital of the Jesuits is very considerable, arising from the value of their Estate, and the annual profit accruing from their Pupils.

'The influence of the Jesuits in the adjacent Country is incredible: the Manor and surrounding district being their own, they are more or less the accredited heads of the neighbourhood; they are at once bold and indefatigable in making Proselytes; and, in consequence of their exertions, Popery has very considerably increased in the vicinity of Stonyhurst, and in the town of Preston, within the last thirty years.' Vol. I. pp. 332—334.

Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order of Jesuits, was born in Spain, in 1491. An accident which happened to him at the siege of Pampeluna, in 1521, was the original means of raising him to the eminence which he occupied as the patron of a new Society, which soon eclipsed the existing institutions dependent on the Church of Rome. His right leg having been broken, was unskillfully treated. During the slow progress of his cure, he met with a life of the Saints, written in a romantic style, the reading of which most powerfully impressed his mind, and

excited his inclination to seek distinction as a religious devotee and adventurer. He retired from the military profession, and employed himself in endeavouring to obtain disciples. After having experienced various obstacles in the expected accomplishment of his projects, and being deserted by the first converts which he had obtained in Spain, he succeeded at Paris in acquiring Le Fevre, who had been his private tutor, and Francis Xavier, who afterwards became so much celebrated as a missionary: to these he soon added Lainez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, and Rodriguez. Accompanied with these disciples, he repaired, on the day of the Assumption, 1534, to the church of Montmartre, near Paris, where, after mass, the whole seven, with a loud and distinct voice, took a vow to undertake within a prescribed time, a voyage to Jerusalem, for the conversion of the Infidels, to abandon every thing they possessed in the world, except necessaries for their voyage, and in case they should be unable to accomplish this object, to offer their services to the Pope, and to proceed under his orders wherever he might think proper to send them. After interposing some considerable delay, during which the proposals of Ignatius were submitted by the Pontiff to the examination of three Cardinals, Paul the IIIrd confirmed the Institution by a Papal bull, dated the 27th of September, 1540. The Society of the Jesuits thus received its establishment, and the zeal of its founder and his coadjutors, pushed on its fortunes with a rapidity which soon raised it to a height from which it looked with proud superiority on every institution that Papal authority had incorporated, surveyed its own advantages, and prepared its attacks on the liberties and peace of mankind. Power and dominion were the objects to which the whole of its energies were directed. These it sought *per fas et nefas*: it employed a policy and a morality in the order of its means, which unequivocally proclaim its true character, and identify its origin and its designs with a wisdom the reverse of that which cometh from above. Never was prostitution carried so far towards its utmost point of profligate and shameful daring, as when the name of Jesus, the meek and holy Saviour of men, was assumed as the appellation of this Society, originally conceived in the mind of a fanatic, and patronised and supported by Papal tyranny, for purposes of guilt and mischief!

The progress of the Jesuits and the extent of their acquisitions, may be learned from the following statement.

‘In 1540, when they presented their petitions to Paul III. they only appeared in the number of ten. In 1543, they were not more than twenty-four. In 1545, they had only ten Houses: but in 1549, they had two Provinces; one in Spain, and the other in Portugal, and twenty-two Houses; and at the death of Ignatius in 1556, they



had twelve large Provinces. In 1608, Ribadeneira reckoned 29 Provinces, and 2 Vice Provinces, 21 Houses of Profession, 293 Colleges, 33 Houses of Probation, 93 other residences, and 10,581 Jesuits. In the Catalogue printed at Rome in 1629, are found 35 Provinces, 2 Vice Provinces, 33 Houses of Profession, 578 Colleges, 48 Houses of Probation, 88 Seminaries, 160 Residences, 106 Missions, and in all, 17,655 Jesuits, of whom 7870 were Priests. At last (according to the calculation of Father Jouveney) they had in 1710, 24 Houses of Profession, 59 Houses of Probation, 340 Residences, 612 Colleges, of which above 80 were in France, 200 Missions, 157 Seminaries and Boarding Houses, and 19,998 Jesuits.' Vol. I. pp. 379—380.

The Jesuits formed their first Establishment in Portugal. In 1550, they succeeded in obtaining from Henry II. of France, through the influence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, into whose favour Ignatius had insinuated himself at Rome, permission to erect a House and College. They found access into Spain almost as soon as they commenced their operations; and at Rome, during the life-time of their founder, they accomplished the erection of two superb Roman and German Colleges, and a commodious country-house, for the advantage of the air. These establishments were afterwards enlarged, and accommodated about six hundred of their members at Rome, whence they directed an agency over the world at large.

The new Society excited the alarm of many individuals of the Romish Church, and appeared, to different incorporated bodies and other assemblies, too formidable and too questionable, to be permitted to proceed in its plans without notice. We are so well acquainted with the jealousies and oppositions of the different orders of the Roman Catholic devotees, as to believe it to be a very possible circumstance, that the resistance offered to the attempts of the Jesuits to establish themselves, might proceed from motives not altogether pure; it would however be unwarrantable to attach this character to every instance of opposition, and we may evidently presume, that in some cases the apprehension of danger was the real conviction of good minds. A better principle, we would hope, than that which receives its satisfaction from the security of external forms of religion, and which trembled less for the dangers of the Church of Rome, than for the freedom and happiness of mankind, armed some superior minds with determined resolution to oppose the pretensions of a novel and dangerous institute. Melchiorcano, a Dominican, distinguished for his learning and piety, publicly declared, when the Jesuits thought to establish themselves at Salamanca, 1548, that he saw in the Society 'the marks which the Apostle had assigned to the followers of Antichrist,' and avowed that he thought himself obliged to warn the people, in order that they might not suffer themselves to be seduced. The Faculty of Theology at Paris, after a long-continued discussion,

pronounced the following decision, on the 1st of December, 1554.

“ “ This new Society” (says they) “ appropriates particularly to itself the unusual title of the name of Jesus, receives with the greatest laxity, and without any discrimination, all kinds of persons, however criminal, lawless, and infamous they may be—it withdraws from the obedience and submission due to Ordinaries—unjustly deprives both temporal and spiritual Lords of their rights—brings disturbance into every form of government,—and occasions many subjects of complaint, many law-suits, contentions, jealousies, and schisms, among the people. The Society, therefore, appears to us to be dangerous in all that concerns the faith, calculated to disturb the peace of the church, to overturn the Monastic Order, and more fit to destroy than to build up.” Vol. I. p. 384.

To disturb the peace of the Church, and to overturn the Monastic Orders, were, in the view of these *Theologues*, dreadful evils: attempts of this kind were regarded by them with terror, only as they pointed the appeal directly homewards and interested the selfish feelings. Had the inroads of the Jesuits threatened no greater damage, they would not have prepared for them the condemnation apportioned to criminal proceedings. A more justly alarming and correct opinion of the new Society, was declared by George Bronswell\*, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, in 1588, whose words are given in the following very remarkable passage.

“ “ There is a fraternity which has lately arisen, called the Jesuits, who will seduce many; who acting, for the most part, like the Scribes and Pharisees, will strive to overturn the truth: they will go near to accomplish their object, for they transform themselves into various shapes: among Pagans, they will be Pagans; among Atheists, Atheists; Jews among Jews; and Reformers among Reformers, for the sole purpose of discovering your intentions, your hearts, and your desires. These persons are spread over the whole earth: they will be admitted into the Councils of Princes, which will, however, be no wiser from their introduction; they will infatuate them so far as to induce them to reveal the greatest secrets of their hearts: they will be in no way aware of them. This will be the consequence of their advisers neglecting to observe the laws of God and of his Gospel, and conniving at the sins of Princes. Notwithstanding, God will, in the

\* The Author cites Varan's *Annals of Ireland*, reprinted at Dublin, in 1705, as his authority for the preceding statement. A copy of the very curious discourse from which a part is quoted in the above extract, is inserted in the Harleian Miscellany: (Vol. V. p. 566.) it is there said to have been preached in Christ-Church, Dublin, on the first Sunday after Easter, in 1551. The Archbishop's name, as affixed to the Sermon, is *Browne*: he was preferred to the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin, in 1535, and was the first in Ireland who embraced the Reformation. *Rev.*



end, in order to avenge his law, cut off this Society even by those who have most supported and employed it; so that, at last, they will become odious to all nations." ' Vol. I. pp. 385—386.

On the death of Ignatius, in 1556, Lainez, the oldest of the founder's companions, a person of great talents and consummate artifice, and to whom Jesuitism is probably more indebted than to Ignatius himself, was chosen General of the Order.

' Lainez, the oldest of Ignatius's companions, a subtle character, and one who appeared to have had the greatest share in all the operations of Ignatius, caused a General Assembly to be convened for the election of a General! and in the mean time, he succeeded in obtaining for himself, the appointment of Vicar General to govern during the interregnum.

' As soon as the Deputies appeared at the General Assembly, that skilful politician made them sign a kind of Formulary, the principal article of which was, that no other business should be proceeded on by the Chapter, until a General should be elected.

' Pope Paul IV. having seen, however, with jealousy, that the authority of the General of this Order over his subjects was parallel with his own, had appointed Cardinal Pacheco to represent him at the Chapter, and to signify to it his determination; which was, first, that the Generalship should not be perpetual, but only for three years, as in many other Orders; and secondly, that the Jesuits should join in the public service of the Church, as was practised by other Orders.

' With a view to get rid of both these conditions, the Jesuits represented that they were unable to discuss any subject until the election of a General had taken place: they were therefore suffered to proceed to it, and on the 2nd of July, 1558, the choice fell upon Lainez.

' The election being once decided, no respect whatever was paid to the two demands of the Pope; he was much incensed at this; and when the new General came with many of his Order to announce the election to Paul IV. he treated them as rebellious subjects, and fomenters of heresy, on the ground of their refusal to celebrate Divine Service in common. He also declared to them, that he objected to the Generalship continuing more than three years.

' Notwithstanding this decision and the formal notice which was given to them on the part of the Pope, by Cardinal Trani, the Jesuits passed a Decree, on the 24th of August, 1558, pronouncing that the Generalship should be perpetual; and on the 25th they presented a Memorial to the Pope\*, in which they observe that they could not avoid declaring that *it was more advantageous for the Society that the General should not be changed during his life: we are, however, they added, obedient children, and quite ready to observe what your Holiness shall command.* Their only object in these specious professions, was to amuse Paul IV. who was sufficiently advanced in life to lead them to hope that he would never see the end of the first three years.

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\* See the Decree and Memorial in the "Recueil des Décrets de la Première Congregation," p. 44, edit. 1635.

They were not mistaken ; the Pope died shortly after, and the Generalship has remained perpetual ever since.' Vol. I. pp. 390—391.

Lainez was soon afterwards (in 1562) commissioned by Pope Pius IVth, to the Council of Trent, where, to the surprise and offence of many of its members, he gave full demonstration of the subserviency of his Order to the cause of Papal despotism. With consummate boldness he supported the paramount authority of the Papacy over bishops and councils, and defended the abuses of the Court of Rome. It was this complete devotedness to the interests of the Papacy, which obtained for the Jesuits the favour and protection of the head of the Romish Church. In times less alarming to the sovereignty of Popery, the patrons of the Order of Jesuits might, in seeking to obtain its establishment, have had to contend with insuperable difficulties. In the progress of the Reformation, however, the Conclave perceived a greater danger threatening its destruction, than it could discern in the proceedings of an Order composed of Romish devotees, though it might have been alarmed by the demand of the singular privileges claimed for the new institute. The German princes were determined in their support of Protestantism, and a large part of the population of their states, was detached from the Papal dominion ; France was already shaken with religious agitation ; the light of the Reformation was diffusing itself widely in England, and other countries ; and that was now the policy to be adopted at Rome, which could best prevent further defections, and, if possible, be successful in regaining its lost influence.

The Jesuits proceeded with rapidity in their course towards the objects at which their ambition aimed. Repulses only served to stimulate them to fresh efforts ; they returned with recruited energies to their attempts, which, in too many instances, were successful in raising them to a ' bad eminence.' They intrigued for influence in every situation to which they could find access, and took care that no opportunity of introducing themselves into important situations should be lost. They became Confessors to kings, queens, and statesmen, whose consciences they directed for the advancement of the most unhallowed ends. The Jesuits La Chaise and Le Tellier, were successively Confessors to Louis XIV. The latter of them, it will be remembered, signalized himself by taking a conspicuous part in that infamous measure, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. For subtlety and treachery, for bad ends and bad means, for the flagrant dereliction of all principles of honesty and honour, for guilty speculation and iniquitous practice, the Jesuits have been pre-eminent. This heavy accusation we must support by evidence from the work before us.



The parliaments of France opposed an early and powerful resistance to the establishment of the Jesuits in that kingdom, and were generally successful in obtaining their expulsion. These disciples of Ignatius, however, found means to maintain themselves in the jurisdiction of the parliaments of Thoulouse and Bourdeaux. In these provinces they preserved an understanding with different parts of the kingdom, and at last obtained from the French monarch letters patent in favour of their recall.

‘The entreaties which were urged on all sides for the recal of the Jesuits, and the alarm which their incessant intrigues occasioned the king, threw him into the greatest perplexity. At length he relented, and began to think that he could gain the Jesuits, by loading them with favours, and thus live for the future in peace. He opened his heart to this effect to SULLY, who had long enjoyed his confidence. He hoped, that by means of benefiting the Jesuits, he should attach them to him for ever; but he soon admitted that his enlightened minister had the best grounds for assuring him that no reliance was to be placed in their promises. SULLY relates, that the king said to him, “I must now, of necessity, do one of two things—either simply admit the Jesuits, and put their repeated oaths and promises to the test, or else absolutely reject them for ever, and employ the most rigorous means to prevent their approaching me or my kingdom; in which case they will undoubtedly be thrown into despair, and lay plots for my life, which will render me so wretched, from being in constant fear of being poisoned or assassinated (since they have a universal intelligence and correspondence, and great skill in persuading others to their purpose), that death itself would be preferable to such a life.”

‘It was this consideration which alarmed that monarch, otherwise so courageous, but who was, as it were, tired of having led, till then, a life full of agitation and trouble: he hoped to avoid such a state in refusing to comply with the wishes of SULLY, of whose attachment, however, he was so well assured. In his letter of the 15th of August, 1603, Henry IV. informed M. de Beaumont, his ambassador in England, that his object in re-establishing the Jesuits was in order to stop their intrigues and conspiracies; adding, “The chief reason which prevents my treating the Jesuits with rigour is, that they now form a powerful body, which has acquired great credit and power among the Catholics, so that to persecute them, and deprive them of protection in my kingdom, would be immediately to unite against me many superstitious and discontented minds, and afford them a pretence for rallying and exciting new disturbances.” Immediately after this letter, the king, at the solicitation of LA VARENNE, VILLEROI, and the Pope’s Nuncio, granted letters patent for the re-establishment of the Jesuits in Thoulouse, and other places, under strict regulations, to which their general AQUAVIVA, would never give his consent, alleging they were contrary to the institution of the order. The Jesuits, who were about the king, made fewer difficulties, having, from their first

introduction into the kingdom, troubled themselves very little about conditions and restrictions, well knowing that they could always get rid of them at the proper season. The edict of the king to his parliament, for registering and confirming such letters patent, experienced considerable opposition, and it was determined to present a remonstrance against the measure. The president of the parliament, HARLAY, distinguished himself highly by being the organ of that remonstrance, in presence of the king and queen, on the 21th of December, 1602.

‘The parliament resisted the registry of the order of recal as long as possible; and SULLY observes,\* that “the return of the Jesuits would never have taken place, if the king had not, in the exercise of his plenary power, commanded it; so entirely were the Parliament, the University, the Sorbonne, and many bishops and cities of France, opposed to it.”

‘This declaration to SULLY proves that HENRY believed them always capable of assassinating him; but he flattered himself, that in loading them with favours, they would either interest themselves in preserving his life, or at least that they would not themselves be ungrateful enough again to seek his destruction. His cruel death by RAVAILLAC, in which the Jesuits were concerned, shewed that he deceived himself in those flattering hopes.” Vol. 2, p. 39—41.

The Author has subjoined the following remarks on the abjuration of the Protestant Faith, by Henry IV.

‘When Henry IV. was in the Protestant communion, he was preserved by a special Providence from the general massacre of Protestants, which took place on St. Bartholomew’s day, although the queen mother, Catherine de Medicis, and her son, Charles IX. together with the Duke of Guise, and other members of the Royal Family and government, held a solemn council, whether he should not be put to death with the rest, and only resolved to save him as a question of policy. It would surely have been more worthy of the character of Henry IV. to have continued in a communion in which God had so eminently interposed for his deliverance; and not to have distrusted the Providence which had hitherto preserved him from a Protestant massacre, and crowned him with victory in all his subsequent conflicts for the Protestant faith: it is a singular historical fact, that it was only when Henry deviated from the line of policy, under which his wars had been successful, and his person secure, that he lost both his crown and his life! It was not until he acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, embraced the corruptions of the Romish church, abjured his first faith, and recalled the Order of Jesuits, that a cloud gathered over his empire, which no human foresight or power could prevent from bursting in ruin on his ill-fated head.’ Vol. 2, p. 44, note.

It is not only to the proceedings of the disciples of Loyola, in the different countries of Europe, that the reader of their His-

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\* *Memoirs*, Vol. ii. ch. 5.



tory will have his attention directed; their conduct in almost every part of the globe will engage his notice. Whithersoever he may accompany them, he will find them still the same intrepid, artful, and ambitious people, endeavouring to conquer and to rule the world.

‘The missions of the Jesuits furnish abundant proofs of the corrupt and worldly spirit by which they have been actuated at all periods, and prove, that in traversing the seas, they have been occupied in amassing wealth and acquiring power, rather than in obtaining sincere worshippers of God. The Author of the work, entitled, *Jesuites Marchands*, establishes this fact beyond all doubt or contradiction, on the authorities of the writings of the Foreign Missionaries, VILLIERS’S *Account of the Affairs of China*; especially the documents transmitted by M. DE MONTIGNY, contained in that account; the *Memoirs of NORBERT*, the *Letters of M. FAVRE*, &c. From these, and a variety of other sources (many of which are quoted in this History), it will be seen, that in Japan they only excited disturbances, meddled with affairs of state, brought down persecution upon all the Christians there, and at length irreparably ruined the cause of Christianity itself, in that vast empire; that in China, notwithstanding the decrees of the Court of Rome, they allied Christianity with the idolatrous worship of CONFUCIUS; that on the coasts of Malabar they authorized, and observed, the most superstitious and indecent practices; that they pertinaciously resisted the numerous decisions of the Popes against idolatry, that in all their missions, in order that they might have neither witnesses nor judges of their disorders, they waged open war with other Missionaries, with Vicars Apostolic, with Bishops and Papal Legates; that, when they considered their interest to require it, they put in practice the horrid maxims taught by their own casuists, that it is lawful to kill those who do any injury to a religious order; and, finally, that whenever it became necessary to rid themselves of those who incommoded them, they exercised cruelties altogether unheard of, and unknown, among ordinary persecutors.’ Vol. 2, p. 150.

In the Twenty-fourth Chapter of the work, the Author commences ‘An examination of the Institute of the Jesuits,’ which is continued through several subsequent chapters. From this part of the History, we shall make as copious extracts as our limits will admit, for the purpose of placing before our readers an outline of the constitution of this singular and dangerous Order, referring them for a view of the finished portrait, to the work itself.

‘It is to the Institute of the Jesuits, in common with their religion, that the radical vice and corruption of the Society are to be referred: it will appear, on inspecting this Institute, that it is, in fact, opposed to all the rules of authority, and civilized life; that its tendency is to erect the Society into a monarchy, or rather an universal despotism; to concentrate every thing within itself; to overthrow every obstacle, and to become the sovereign and absolute arbiter of all the dignity

and wealth of the Christian world ; in fine, to produce the whole of those evils which the History of Jesuitism records.

‘ The Jesuits, from the first, aspired to universal empire. They saw, indeed, the difficulty of their enterprise, and were aware how many had failed in the attempt : they observed that when any particular monarch had made the experiment, every other potentate was raised against him, and opposed his designs. They therefore contrived a more skilful method ; which was, to leave the sovereigns masters of their dominions, so long as they could domineer over those sovereigns, and create their own vice-kings, vice-princes, vice-dukes, in short, their ministers ; and thus become, in effect, the sovereigns of the world, by securing to themselves, insensibly, a species of moral government which should not offend the eye, but produce the same result.

‘ As they could not prevail over other monarchs by force, in opposing them by sea and land, like other adventurers ; they availed themselves of religion, as the most effectual instrument for restraining the minds and inclinations of mankind, and of governing them by a power apparently divine ; which they employed in directing the consciences of kings, with a view to their own ends and interests. In order to their success, however, it became necessary to proceed in the least alarming, and most attractive way ; especially to conceal the artifices of their Institute ; to give it an adaptation to places and circumstances ; to extend it to Members of other orders, conditions, and even religions, to laymen as well as ecclesiastics, to the married and single, to bishops, popes, emperors, and kings. It became essential that the constitutions of the society should be monarchical and despotic ; and that the whole exercise of the authority, and the direction of the revenues, should be united in the hands of a single chief ; and that all the members should be blindly dependant, in every thing, upon his absolute will, for their destiny, for the disposal of their persons, their conduct, and their property : for their doctrine and mode of thinking on all points, in order that all might be one in their Society, and that the spirit of the head might be universally that of every member of the body ; that no authority, temporal or spiritual, neither councils, bishops, popes, nor kings, should effect any thing against the Society, and that it should be exempt from all their laws, and from all dependance upon them ; that the Society should unite in itself the privileges and prerogatives of all other societies ; and appropriate to itself such rights as should give it superiority over all other bodies ; that it should be able to bind to itself all individuals, and all bodies, without ever being itself bound in respect of them ; and that it should always sport with obligations and engagements, according to the interests of the Society, and as circumstances should require ; that money being the sinew of government, it should amass in the hands of its Director, such possessions and wealth as were necessary to its extensive views ; for which purpose the Institute should offer all proper facilities : finally, that, in order to attract the world within its own sphere, and to arrive at general influence, it should, on the one hand, soothe the great and luxurious, by pa-



latable doctrines, by a convenient morality, and by principles friendly to the indulgence of every passion; while, on the other, it should render itself terrible to every opponent, and even formidable to all who should refuse to join it; formed as it was upon maxims which enabled it to silence or destroy its opponents, and caused even crowned heads to tremble.' Vol II. pp. 175—177.

The Society of the Jesuits is composed of four classes.

'Taken in its more extensive sense, the Society comprises all those who yield obedience to the General; even the Novices, who do not wear the habit; and generally all those who, having resolved to live and die in the Society, are in probation; in order that it may be decided to which of the following degrees they shall be admitted. This is the first class. The Society, in a more limited sense, comprises, besides, those who have taken the vows, and the coadjutors, approved scholars; which approved scholars are the second class. In a third, and more strict sense, the Society only includes those who have taken the vows, and the coadjutors; and it is in this sense that the promise of the approved scholars to enter into the Society, that is, to enter into one of those two classes, must be understood. Thus, the third class is that of coadjutors. Lastly, the Society, understood in an entirely confined and appropriate sense, comprises only those who have taken the vows; not that the body of the Society has no other Members, but because those who have taken the vows are the principal members, and because it is from the midst of them that the small number of those persons is selected who have a voice in the election of the General. Those, then, who have taken the vows, form the fourth class.' Vol. II. pp. 191, 192.

These four classes admit of several subdivisions, for each of which a number of regulations is provided. There is, for the first class, a first and a second probation: the former of these continues for twelve, fifteen, or twenty days; the latter, or the novitiate, lasts at least two years; but the General has the power of extending this period as long as the interest of the Society may require. On his reception into the second probation, or novitiate, the aspirant receives the title of *Brother*; and at the conclusion of it, when he takes the vows, and passes into the second division of the first class, he is invested with the title of *Father*. The second class consists of the Jesuit scholars or students—*Scholastici*; that is, those Jesuits who are permitted to apply themselves to their studies, and in whose hands are the colleges of the Society and the benefices united to them. The Coadjutors, who form the third class, are divided into Spiritual and Temporal. The Spiritual must be priests, and sufficiently instructed to assist the Society in its spiritual functions, such as confession, preaching, the instruction of youth, and the teaching of the *Belles Lettres*. The Temporal Coadjutors, (who are properly only Lay Brothers,) are not to be in Holy Orders, but must still have sufficient ability for the service of

the Society in all those external things in which it may be necessary to employ them. The Professors of the four vows are the finished members of the Society; they have the supreme government of the colleges, and it is from them alone that the small number is chosen who have a voice in the election of the General.

The accommodating laws of this most iniquitous and dangerous Society, have lodged the double power of dismissing and recalling members in the hands of the General, who is thus enabled, for the benefit of the Order, in both its political and pecuniary interests, to dismiss a Jesuit from the Society, that he may appear as though he had no connexion with it, and to recall him when his return shall be desirable and profitable. A striking example of this crafty and wicked policy, occurs in the instance of Count Zani.

‘ Charles Zani was the son of the Count John Zani of Bologna, and entered into the Society of Jesuits in the year 1627, having before his admission made a complete renunciation of all the property to which he might ever be entitled; expressly declaring that neither himself nor the Society should ever lay any claim to it. After he had been eleven years in the Society, his father, and the Count Angelo, his brother, died; upon which the Fathers of the Society persuaded him to quit it, for the purpose of succeeding to their property, and of afterwards returning to the Society; for this end, the necessary letters of dismission were sought from the General Vitelleschi, which were accordingly sent to the Provincial Menochius. Before they were delivered to Charles Zani, he was obliged to make a vow of returning to the Society with all the property which might be recovered by him, and the following is a copy of the obligation which he signed:—

“ I, Charles Zani, being about to receive my Letters of dismission  
 “ from the society of Jesus, do, before they shall be delivered to me  
 “ by the very Reverend Father Stephen Menochius, the Provincial,  
 “ voluntarily promise and vow in the presence of God, and do in  
 “ conscience bind myself in the strongest manner in my power, that  
 “ after I shall have received my said letters of dismission, I will  
 “ demand of those who may then be the superiors of the Society,  
 “ permission to re-enter the said Society, so soon as I shall have ac-  
 “ complished the object for which I have required and received the  
 “ said Letters; hereby declaring, and binding myself to make the said  
 “ application to be restored to the said Society, at such time as the  
 “ Reverend Father Vincent Bargellin shall judge the most fit, and  
 “ according as he shall consider my affairs to be properly arranged;  
 “ holding myself obliged, in that particular, to follow his pious judg-  
 “ ment and will, in order to avoid all doubts on my part, and to  
 “ know more certainly the time and season for accomplishing my  
 “ present vow to the honour of God.” He quitted the religious  
 habit on the 27th of November, 1639, as he has himself testified by  
 a writing under his hand. Having afterwards come into the pos-



cession of his estate, he altered his mind, and went to Rome for the purpose of obtaining a dispensation from his vow, but he could not succeed in procuring it from Pope Innocent X. Being afterwards seized with a fever, he made his will in favour of the College of Jesuits at Bologna, through the influence of those Fathers who besieged him day and night for that object; and after this, he died. The Jesuits immediately seized upon his property; but the family opposing their pretensions, the affair became the subject of litigation. The Jesuits being afraid that either in the proceedings which had commenced, or in the subsequent judgment, their extraordinary conduct with reference to the deceased party, their insatiable thirst of money, and their new method of invading inheritances, might be exposed to the world, obtained from the Sovereign Pontiff Alexander VII. an Act of Grace by which he commanded the judges of the court to terminate the proceedings, by way of compromise; which was done by dividing the whole property in question into twelve parts, five of which were allotted to the Jesuits, and the other seven to the family, who obtained them only after infinite trouble, and innumerable impediments on the part of those fathers, and after their having almost entirely dissipated the property in question.\*

Vol. II. pp. 239—241.

The reflections with which the Author has accompanied his relation of this nefarious transaction, are so weighty and so just, that we cannot permit ourselves to pass them by unnoticed, though we can afford only this slight mention of them: they deserve the greatest and most serious attention, which indeed is a recommendation, as we have already remarked, justly due to the copious reflections throughout the work.

The Jesuits are under the government of Rectors or Prefects, Provincials, and a General. The General is at the head of the whole body, the Provincials are at the head of the Provinces, and the Rectors or Prefects at the head of each of the houses, colleges, missions, and novitiates. The Inferiors correspond with the Rectors, the Rectors with the Provincials, and the Provincials with the General. Among these officers are, four Assistants, appointed after the election of the General, by the same congregation which has elected him; four others appointed by the General himself; Legal Agents, one of whom is destined to be with the Pope, and the others with the Catholic Potentates in Europe: Visitors, one for each province; a Secretary-general, resident in Rome; an officer of the General, &c. In the colleges, as well as in the Houses, Missions, and Novitiates, there are various subordinate agents, entitled Associates, Advisers, Proxies, Ministers, &c. &c. Over this whole body in all its ramifications of persons, interests, and duties, the General exercises supreme and unlimited power, and is the absolute monarch over the whole Society: implicit obedience to his will is included in the vows of every Jesuit.

\*See "*La Morale Pratique des Jesuites*," Vol. I. towards the end.

‘ In order that the General may attain the important end of increasing the influence of the Society in all its parts, it is necessary, not only that his office should be perpetual, but that the whole authority should centre in the General alone, and that he should possess unlimited power in the Society; and the Constitutions provide accordingly. Of course, no other person in the Society has any other power than what he may communicate, for such time, and in such measure, as he shall approve; while his own power is indefinite, and extends to Missions, to Colleges, to Houses of Profession, to things, to possessions, and to persons. The entire direction and administration of every thing is virtually vested in him; emanates only from him; and reverts to him alone: nothing is done without his orders, or by virtue of his power; and every thing passes under a condition of an account being rendered to him, while he is accountable to no one.’ Vol. II. p. 247.

With such absolute authority over the property, the consciences, and the persons of the whole Society of Jesuits, the General, who resides at Rome, must be a dangerous personage; and it deserves the most serious consideration, whether the implicit obedience which every Jesuit owes to the head of his Order, can possibly permit his becoming, with good faith, a dutiful subject of the civil state. It is a gross fallacy to allege that the government of either the Pope or the General of the Order of Jesuits, is spiritual. Secular interests and secular policy are identical with both of them. On the oath of allegiance, as applying to the Jesuits, the Author’s remarks, Vol. I. p. 336, are worthy of being recommended to the attention of the reader.

The morality of the Jesuits, which received the most complete exposure from the wit and eloquence of the Provincial Letters, is of the most criminal character, adapted to sanction vice in all its gradations, and to harden the heart in the practice of iniquity, by the apologies for sin which the arts of its patrons have devised.

‘ At one time, excuse is suggested by what is called *invincible ignorance*; at another, by *the want of actual consideration of the evil of the action*; on some occasions, *the particular direction of the intention* is to be regarded; at others *mental reservation* is permitted. Sometimes, *the authority of some learned Doctor* shall qualify the nature of a crime; at other times, the great secret of *the Doctrine of probability* shall explain away its intrinsic evil: on some occasions the lawfulness of the pleasures of sense, as considered in themselves, is maintained; and their excess alone is held to constitute the crime which is prohibited. In this manner, almost every transgression against divine or human laws disappears; usury and duelling are sanctioned; debauchery is commonly no other than a venial sin; defamation and slander, vengeance and murder, are only the lawful results of a justifiable defence; the procuring of abortions under certain circumstances, only an allowed protection of character; theft but an



authorized way of procuring justice: perjury, no other than the innocent effect of a mere *jeu-de-mots*, by which a person has appeared to say what he never intended to say, and to promise what he never meant to perform.' Vol. II. p. 382.

An Appendix, consisting for the most part of Extracts from the Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons, on the Education of the Lower Orders, printed in June 1816, is subjoined. It is decisive on the point that the Bible is, in Roman Catholic communities, a prohibited book; and this point being established, it can no longer be doubted what are the nature and tendency of Popery. There must be something radically corrupt and mischievous in a system which lays its foundations on the ignorance of mankind, and forbids the reading of the Scriptures by the common people. Whether this conduct can proceed from any other principle than the support of priestcraft, which might and would be endangered by men's having access to the Scriptures, it is not difficult to determine. If God has made a revelation of his will, it is as important for one man as for another, and as much his right to learn and know it. To prevent the access of any rational person to the unconfined use of the Bible, is nothing else than an insult to God and man, and can only result from a policy antichristian and wicked. How long will men yield themselves to be the dupes of priests and the atrocious frauds which they study to put in practice? Much as we fear we have already trespassed upon the patience of our readers, we shall insert two of the answers given by Dr. William Poynter, Roman Catholic Bishop, and Vicar Apostolic of the London District, to the questions put by the Education Committee.

'According to the discipline of your Church, are children and the unlearned allowed to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue?—They are, under certain regulations.

'Of what nature are those regulations?—That they should not read them in the vulgar tongue, *without the permission of their pastors.*

'Then you conceive that the religious instruction which might be conveyed by teaching them (the children of the poor Roman Catholics in London) to read the Protestant Scriptures would not better their moral condition, in your view?—*Certainly not.*—(LET ALL READERS NOTICE THIS.)'

To the work before us we have endeavoured, both by our own remarks, and by as copious extracts as our limits allow us to select, to do justice. It is one of the few works to which, in the present critical and alarming times, when all that is valuable and dear to man is exposed to peril, we can accord the praise of being instructive and admonitory as the exigence requires. Its value and utility cannot fail of being duly appreciated and highly rated by the Christian philanthropist whose studies have been

directed to the causes of some of the greatest evils with which mankind have ever been visited, and who must ever be of opinion, that so long as a religious tyranny which unites in the objects of its despotic rule the subjugation of the human conscience and the control of secular states, shall exist, the peace, the liberties, and the lives of men, must be in jeopardy. The Author, whoever he may be, has prepared for the consolation of his own mind in the day of evil, should it ever come, by the fidelity and ability with which he has performed his duty. He has spared no labour to make his work worthy of the public attention. To materials obtained from the best sources, by the most patient research, he has given as much order as the nature of them could well admit, and has clothed them with language of great perspicuity and vigour, which frequently derives no inconsiderable portion of its excellence from the high moral tone of the sentiments which it imbodyes. The nature and object of these volumes fully entitle the Author to address his country in the language of the Athenian orator, which he has adopted as a motto, and with which he concludes the History of the Jesuits: "I present these considerations as the result of accurate and solemn investigation: they are offered in behalf of you all; in the cause of truth, your constitution, and your laws; for your common salvation, your religion, your honour, and your liberty!"

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Art. IV. *Narrative of a Voyage, in His Majesty's late Ship Alceste, to the Yellow Sea, along the Coast of Corea, and through its numerous hitherto undiscovered Islands, to the Island of Lewchew; with an Account of her Shipwreck in the Straits of Gaspar.* By John M'Leod, Surgeon of the Alceste. 8vo. 12s. Plates. Murray, London. 1817.

WE had intended to blend this Article with one which will in our next Number, we expect, be devoted to the larger work of Mr. Ellis; but on looking through Mr. M'Leod's volume, for the purpose of obtaining a general notion of its contents, we have found in it so much of interest and novelty, that we cannot feel satisfied without giving it a separate analysis, and putting it fairly and singly forward, on the ground of its own merits. Mr. M'Leod is a man of sense and observation; he has made active use of his eyes and intellect; and, if his style is never very highly wrought, and even, sometimes, a little defective in point of correctness, there is yet a plain, manly, seaman-like distinctness and strength in his language, a clearness in his descriptions, and a vein of genuine English humour in his way of telling a story, that altogether afford ample compensation for the neglect of refinement. At the same time, we would suggest to Mr. M. the expediency of abstaining for



the future from all light and jesting mention of any thing in the slightest degree connected with religion; to do this is neither wise nor manly; it will not, assuredly, commend the writer to the good opinion of those whose approbation is the most to be desired. There is not, indeed, much of this in his narrative; still, there is something, and whatever is in the smallest portion tinged with this offensive levity, should be carefully expunged.

We shall not, in this place, enumerate the names of the individuals attached to the late Chinese Embassy, nor advert to any of the arrangements connected with it; and we shall consider the voyage of the *Alceste* with as little reference as possible to the circumstances of the Mission. The adventures of the political voyagers were, in truth, rather dull and insipid; their business lay in a tedious and unvaried country, and with a very unentertaining people, and their discussions chiefly turned upon points of wearisome ceremony; but to the Commander of the *Alceste*, we are indebted for considerable discoveries, and to the Surgeon of that frigate, for a very lively and instructive narrative of interesting and important events. The squadron, of which Captain Murray Maxwell was the commander, comprised the *Alceste* frigate, of forty-six guns, His Majesty's brig *Lyra*, Captain Basil Hall, and the General Hewitt Indiaman, Captain Campbell.

On the 9th of February, 1816, the ships sailed from Spithead; on the 18th, reached Madeira, and on the 4th of March crossed the line, the usual ceremonies being observed by the crew. On the 16th, the squadron separated; the two smaller vessels 'were directed to make the best of their way 'to the Cape of Good Hope,' while the frigate stood over to the American coast, and on the 21st, reached Rio Janeiro. The death of the Queen of Portugal, which took place the day before their arrival, had put a stop to all public amusements, the reigning Prince was closely shut up, and 'swarms of priests occupied 'every avenue to the palace, and hung in clusters on the 'staircases. St. Sebastian seems to be a soil, in which these 'members of the *Autos da Fé* still thrive well.' The funeral took place by torch-light, and the principal mourners, eight noblemen on horseback, with their large broad-brimmed hats, long black robes, and glittering stars, presented to the lively spirits of our countrymen, 'the whimsical combination of a 'coal-heaver, a priest, and a knight.' 'They do Buonaparte, 'here, the honour of being very much afraid of him; and 'keep a bright eye to windward, lest he should break adrift 'from St. Helena, and come down upon them before the wind.'

They quitted Rio Janeiro on the 31st of March; in less than

three weeks, they reached the Cape; and on the 8th of June, anchored in Anjeri Road, Java. Here they overtook the other ships, and such was the superior rate of sailing of the *Alceste*, that it enabled her to touch at Rio Janeiro, 'without in any way delaying the general passage; as notwithstanding this, she nearly overtook her consorts at the Cape. The same was the case here, though she remained ten days behind, being able to afford them, in such a run, a start of 1000 or 1500 miles.'

On the 28th of July, the ship anchored off the mouth of the Pei-Ho; but as the Chinese were not quite prepared for them, it was some days before a regular communication was established. The first appearance of the two delegated Mandarins, did not strike our Author with much reverential feeling. He compares them, with their 'short jacket or gown,' and 'crape petticoats,' to 'bulky old women,' and this irreverent disposition does not appear to have diminished on further acquaintance. Off Macao, the squadron had been joined by the *Discovery* and the *Investigator*, two 'surveying ships' in the service of the East India Company, and it was now arranged, that a separation should take place, for the purpose of exploring the Gulf of Pe-tche-lee. Whether it was politic or not, thus to run the hazard of alarming the jealous fears of the Chinese, we shall not now inquire; but the result of this cruize has certainly been very gratifying, inasmuch as it has rectified several prevailing errors respecting the geography and hydrography of this part of the world, and added materially to our knowledge of the coast and islands of this extensive Gulf. The *Alceste* and *Discovery* stood to the North-eastward, and coasted along the hitherto unexplored shore of the Gulf of Lea-tong. From incidental observations in this volume, and from the map in Mr. Ellis's *Journal*, we collect that the head of this Gulf was not examined. On the 24th of August, 'about noon,' they were gratified with the sight of the Great Wall. They were then in Lat.  $39^{\circ}$ ,  $29'$  North, Long.  $120^{\circ}$ ,  $6'$  East, and this stupendous object winding over the loftiest hills, in extended and majestic sweep, bore N. W. by W. its 'nearest and lowest point being then distant about six or seven leagues.' They now stood across toward the coast of Chinese Tartary, and landed. The inhabitants were extremely inquisitive, but not uncivil. They testified an inordinate partiality for anchor-buttons, and very little appetite for Spanish dollars. The Chinese language, dress, manners, and religion, were prevalent here. The people displayed remarkable neatness in their houses and gardens, and 'there was an air of comfort about their villages, not always to be found in the more civilized parts of Europe.' They afterwards discovered a cluster of islands, and determined the shape and direction of the



narrow promontory which forms the eastern boundary of the Gulf of Lea-tong. In the mean time, Captain Hall had surveyed the western and southern shores of the Gulph of Pe-tche-lee, which were found to be in general low.

On the 26th we weighed from Zeu-a tau, and next morning arrived at Oie-aie-oie, a very extensive and secure harbour, the Lyra sounding the passage in. On our entrance a number of Mandarins (or, as the seamen termed them *mad marines*) came on board to pay their respects; and an old turret on the face of a hill fired three popguns by way of salute, turning out about a dozen and a half of soldiers, who looked a good deal like the stage-military in an old-fashioned play.

A different arrangement was now made, the Company's ships returned to Macao, while the frigate and brig stood over for the purpose of exploring the coast of Corea. The result of their investigation was the discovery that our maps of this part of the world are altogether erroneous; that the land hitherto taken for continent, is, in fact, broken into innumerable islands; and that the real line of coast lies upwards of a hundred miles, *high and dry* up the country, according to the existing charts. It is, indeed, somewhat curious to compare former delineations, such for instance as that in Arrowsmith's Asia, with that in Mr. Ellis's map, though of indifferent execution, and to observe of what mere guesses and approximations science is sometimes made up. The first cluster of these islands was named Sir James Hall's Group. The natives here exhibited, by signs and gestures, the greatest aversion to the landing of a party from the ships, making cut-throat motions by drawing their hands across their necks, and pushing the boats away from the beach; but they offered no serious violence.

By the representation of their dress, habits of life, and dwellings, given in an annexed plate, it would seem that these islanders enjoy the comforts and some of the luxuries of life; and from subsequent portions of the work, it would appear not improbable that these violent and repulsive gestures were only designed to intimate their own danger if detected in holding communication with foreign visitants. On the 4th of September, the vessels cast anchor in a fine bay formed by the main land to the northward and eastward, in front of a village, with a larger town at some distance. Here they were visited by a chief with a numerous retinue, one of whom, to the great amusement of our countrymen, received a smart *bamboozing*, and as the culprit squalled, a number of his companions standing round him joined in the howl. These visitors behaved with great propriety, and carefully examined and noted down every particular relating to the ships; but when the boats were manned, and, with Captain Maxwell, rowed for the shore, the agitation of

the old chief was excessive, and when they landed, he exhibited all the signs of extreme despondency and grief. 'It was explained as well as could be done that no injury was intended, and that we were friends. He pointed to the sun; and describing its revolving course four times, he drew his hand across his throat, and dropping his chin upon his breast, shut his eyes, as if dead; intimating that in four days, he should be in danger of losing his head if he permitted further intrusion. The party made an appeal to his hospitality, by making signs of hunger; but this failed of their object, for though it brought refreshments, it procured no invitation into their houses; they were therefore rejected,

and by way of a hint that this was not *our* mode of treating strangers, invited them to return to the frigate where they should dine handsomely, and meet with every respect. The old man, who had observed attentively, and seemed perfectly to comprehend, the meaning of the signs, answered by going through the motions of eating and drinking with much appearance of liveliness and satisfaction, patting his stomach afterwards, to say all was very fine; then looking grave, he drew his hand across his neck, and shut his eyes; as if to say, "what signifies your good dinners when I must lose my head."

He afterwards, on board the *Alceste*, wrote some characters on a slip of paper, to which he required an answer; the paper was retained, and when shewn at Canton to Mr. Bannerman, turned out to be, "I don't know who ye are; what business have ye here?" a very pertinent inquiry, and to which it would not have been easy to give a satisfactory reply. He appeared very grateful to Captain M. for not insisting upon going into the town, and received a Bible which he carried on shore, with much care, most likely supposing it to be some official communication.

When they left this place, which was named Basil's Bay, they stood to the southward, through innumerable and lofty islands, inhabited, and of small extent; the outer group was called the Amherst Isles, and the inner, the Corean Archipelago. The inhabitants were on the whole friendly, but averse to intercourse with the voyagers, motioning to them to depart, and making the usual signal with their hands across the throat. Corea, or Kaoli, is tributary to the Emperor of China, and sends, in acknowledgement of fealty, a triennial embassy.

His Corean Majesty may well be styled "king of ten thousand isles," but his *supposed* continental dominions have been very much circumscribed by our visit to his shores. Except in the late and present embassy, no ships had ever penetrated into the Yellow Sea; the Lion had kept the coast of China aboard only, and had neither touched at the Tartar nor Corean side. Cook, Perouse, Bougainville,



Broughton and others, had well defined the bounds on the eastern coast of this country, but the western had hitherto been laid down on the charts from imagination only, the main land being from a hundred and thirty, to a hundred and fifty miles farther to the eastward, than these charts had led us to believe.'

'The language of Corea is affirmed to have 'no resemblance in sound to the colloquial language of China,' though the 'literati' use the Chinese written character.

After disengaging themselves from this wilderness of isles, they passed a volcano, of which, at the distance of two or three miles, the sulphurous smell was 'very strong.' In their approach to the islands of Lewchew, (the Lekeyos of the charts,) the ships were in some danger, especially the smaller one, from that terror of seamen, a strong wind on a lee shore.

'The *Lyra*, indeed, could not have tacked in such a swell, and was almost too near to attempt wearing. Both ships, therefore, stood on with every sail they could carry, on the starboard tack, endeavouring to weather the reef. Much anxiety existed, at this moment, on board the *Alceste*, for the fate of the Brig; the breakers rearing their white tops close to leeward of her, and rolling, with terrific force, upon the rocks. By steady steerage, however, and a press of sail, she at last passed the danger, and bore up through a channel formed by the reef and some high islets to the southward, very much to the satisfaction of all concerned; and she was followed by the frigate.'

The morning view presented to the Navigators, the refreshing scenery of a highly cultivated shore, and the approach of boats from the land, offering them vegetables and fresh water, and pointing out the safest anchorage. The ships made sail in the direction pointed out, and came to in front of 'a considerable town, with a number of vessels at anchor under it, in a harbour, the mouth of which was formed by two pier-heads.' The natives, to whom the sight was altogether new, crowded to the shore, and the ships were speedily visited by the 'people in office,' who made the usual inquiries. The general answer to this was correct, but we are sorry to say, that it was judged expedient to practice deception on these good people, by informing them that the ship had sprung a leak, and by turning the cock in the hold, filling the well, and setting the chain-pumps to work. The natives gazed with astonishment and sympathy at the volumes of water thrown out on the main deck, and without delay collected a strong party of their carpenters, and brought them on board to assist in repairing the damage. When this kind offer was evaded, with an intimation that fresh provisions and water would be most acceptable, an immediate and liberal supply was furnished of 'Bullocks, pigs, goats, fowls, eggs, and other articles, with abundance of excellent sweet potatoes, vegetables, fruit then in season, and even candles and

'fire-wood.' For all these receipts were taken, but though payment was repeatedly tendered, none would be accepted. After a short period, they were visited by a man of rank, who was handsomely entertained, and by whom they were hospitably feasted in return. A proposal to 'walk over' the city was, however, civilly put aside, and a degree of caution was, at first, very properly exercised towards the new comers, who attributed much, even of the slight restriction imposed upon them, to the interference of *Bonaparte*, a native, so termed by our countrymen from his 'dark and peculiar aspect,' and from his supposed inclination to keep them at greater distance. The lower orders conducted themselves with the greatest courtesy. When the officers left the public dinner, the natives drew up on both sides of the way, to gratify their curiosity, in the utmost regularity; the inner row formed of the smallest boys kneeling; the second of larger children 'squatting;' the next rank, of men, and the tallest stood behind, or mounted on stones or hillocks. The most entire confidence was, at last, established, and Captain Maxwell was permitted to land his stores for inspection, and to establish his rope-makers and artificers of various kinds, at convenient points of the shore. They provided all kinds of accommodation to the utmost extent of their power, and even felled wood for spars, and towed them alongside. The island of Lewchew is about sixty miles long, and twenty broad, and is the principal of a group of thirty-six, subject to the same monarch. Its early history is, as usual, involved in obscurity and fable, and the few main points on which dependence can be placed, contain very little interest or variety. It is situated in the happiest climate in the globe; the scenery is delightful, the people healthy, active, and apt in receiving instruction. Madera Cosyong, one of the most assiduous in his attention to our countrymen, is described as a finished gentleman. He paid great attention to every word he heard spoken, wrote it in his memorandum book, and in a few weeks made such a proficiency in the English language, as to converse without an interpreter. The ready and accommodating politeness of this people was altogether extraordinary. When the health of the king of Lewchew was drunk in a bumper at Capt. Maxwell's table, a Lewchewer immediately rose, and addressing the Captain through the interpreter, very feelingly expressed his gratification at the compliment; and precisely as a European gentleman would have done under similar circumstances, proposed, in return, a bumper to the king of the *Engelees*. Though much of the volume yet lies before us, we cannot refuse space to an extract or two, in further illustration of the character and condition of this amiable people. After describing the scenery



in the neighbourhood of the ships, Mr. M'Leod proceeds as follows :—

‘ At a short distance from this eminence, the traveller is led by a footpath to what seems only a little wood ; on entering which, under an archway formed by the intermingling branches of the opposite trees, he passes along a serpentine labyrinth, every here and there intersected by others. Not far from each other, on either side of these walks, small wicker doors are observed, on opening any of which he is surprized by the appearance of a court-yard and house, with the children, and all the usual cottage train, generally gambolling about : so that, while a man fancies himself in some lonely and sequestered retreat, he is, in fact, in the middle of a populous, but invisible, village.’

While the ships were here, a young man, whose case had long been hopeless, died ; and while the English carpenters made his coffin, the natives dug his grave. When the funeral was in preparation, a number of the principal inhabitants, dressed in their mourning habits, ‘ white robes with black or blue sashes,’ were observed to be in waiting. While the arrangements were making for the ceremony, they were closely attentive to the proceedings ; and when they had ascertained the plan by which they were adjusted, took their place in the procession, exactly where nothing less than the most consummate feeling of propriety could have directed them. The dead man’s

‘ messmates bore the coffin, covered with the colours ; the seamen ranged themselves two and two, in the rear of it : next were the midshipmen ; then the superior officers ; and last of all the Captain, as is usual in military ceremonies of this kind. The natives, who had been watching attentively this arrangement, and *observing the order of precedence to be inverted*, without the least hint being given, but with that unassuming modesty and delicacy which characterize them, when the procession began to move, *placed themselves in front of the coffin*, and in this order marched slowly to the grave..... They took the directions for the shape of a stone, to be placed at the head of a tomb, which, as a mark of respect, they had already begun to erect over the grave. This was soon finished, and the shape of the English letters being drawn with Indian ink, they, notwithstanding the simplicity of their tools, cut out, with much neatness, the following epitaph, which, when explained to them, seemed to be highly gratifying :—*Here lies buried, aged 21 years, William Hares, seaman of his Britannic Majesty’s ship Alceste. Died Oct. 15, 1816. This monument was erected by the king and inhabitants of this most hospitable island.* The day after the interment they went to the tomb, with their priests, and performed the funeral service according to the rites of their own religion.’

Their skill in medicine and surgery is very small ; their agriculture is simple ; their dancing is performed on one foot only. It is somewhat singular, that ‘ almost the whole animal crea-

'tion here is of diminutive size,' though all are excellent in their kind. Bullocks, goats, and pigs, are small, and the lords of the creation are themselves reduced to the average height of five feet two inches, but at the same time 'sturdy, well built, and athletic.' The origin of these islanders is decidedly not Chinese, but rather Corean or Japanese. They are of fair complexion. They seemed to be entirely without weapons of war. The effects of fire-arms excited their utmost astonishment, and they begged that their birds might not be killed, as they were 'glad to see them flying about their houses.' Their language is a dialect of the Japanese. A few days before the departure of the ships, a man of high rank, said to be next heir to the throne, visited them, and a pleasant interchange of entertainments took place. Nearly at the same time, a proposal was made by 'some great man,' probably the king, to the boatswain's wife; great promises were made, and we are sorry to say, that the overture was not instantly rejected; two days were taken for consideration, and ultimately the husband refused to part with his wife; we are surprised that Captain Maxwell should permit this hesitation. On the 27th of October, the ships unmoored, and the Lewchewers in their best apparel, proceeded to the temple, and 'offered up to their gods a solemn sacrifice, invoking them to 'protect the *Englees*.' How long shall this admirable people be destitute of religious truth? The parting was extremely affecting; the friendly natives crowded on board to shake hands; they took leave with tears; and 'even hard-faced Buonaparte' was not unmoved.'

When Captain Maxwell reached Macao, he found the Chinese disposed to throw every possible obstacle in his way, and to treat him with all imaginable insult. The return of the embassy was known, and the Viceroy of Canton, released from the apprehensions which he had felt of detection and punishment, was disposed to visit upon our countrymen, all the vexations which his fears had occasioned him. He harassed the traders, refused the General Hewitt permission to load, and treated Captain Maxwell with studied insolence. Captain M. applied for permission to pass up the river to a safe anchorage; this was refused, with an order that he should provide a security merchant to answer for his good conduct. Captain Maxwell intimated in reply, that a repetition of such a demand would put him under the necessity of ordering the messenger, a mandarin, to be thrown overboard, and stated his intention of waiting for a pass forty-eight hours, and that if, at the expiration of that time, it had not reached him, he should sail without it. The pass never came, the Chinese pilot 'sneaked off,' the locks and flints of the carronades, to the infinite delight of the crew, were inspected, and Mr. Mayne, the master, volunteered to carry the



ship up. The Bocca Tigris, or Bogue, the channel up which the ship had to sail, was strongly fortified, and one hundred and ten pieces of cannon were so disposed, as with moderate skill, to make an assailant repent of his temerity. In addition to these defences, the Chinese '*grand fleet*' of war junks was ready for action. While the vessel was under way, a linguist came on board from the Mandarins, desiring 'in a high and domineering tone, that the ship should be directly anchored, and that, if we presumed to pass up the river, the batteries would instantly sink her.' Not satisfied with this piece of official insolence, he added some impertinent personalities to the Captain. Captain Maxwell 'calmly observed' that he would first pass the batteries, and then hang him at the yard-arm, for daring to bring on board a British man-of-war so impudent a message.' His boat was cut adrift, and he was conveyed below. The junks now began to fire with blank cartridge, which was returned by the ship, *as a salute*.

'On the next tack we passed close to these warriors, who remained quiet until we got inside of them, and opened Chumpee; when that fort, little Annan-hoy, and the junks (now under weigh) began to fire with shot. At this moment the wind becoming light and baffling, we were obliged to drop anchor in Anson's bay, in order to hold the ground we had gained, and that they might not suppose they had driven us back; and in the act of wearing for this purpose, we gave the admiral of the junks a single shot only, by way of a hint. They immediately ceased firing; and their junks anchoring near us, all remained quiet until a little after eight o'clock, when a light breeze sprung up, which enabled us to lay our course, and the anchor was again weighed. The moment this was observed by the junks they beat their gongs, fired guns, and threw up sky-rockets, to give the alarm, and in an instant the batteries were completely illuminated, displaying lanterns as large as moderate sized balloons, (the finest mark imaginable for us) commencing also a warm, but ill-directed fire from both sides. Steering a steady course, the ship maintained a slow and regular fire, as the guns could be brought to bear, without yawing her. From the lightness of the breeze, which the cannonade seemed to lessen, it was a considerable time before we got abreast of the largest battery. At last, when within pistol-shot of the angle of it, and just before they could get all their guns to bear into the ship, a whole broadside, with cool aim, was poured in among them, the two-and-thirty pounders rattling the stones about their ears in fine style, and giving them at the same time three *roaring* cheers. This salvo was decisive at this particular point; their lights disappeared in a twinkling, and they were completely silenced. . . . . The Chinese linguist, who had crawled below, when he saw matters taking a serious turn, and having observed there was no joking in the case, began in real earnest to think, as one part of the promise had been fulfilled, that *his* time had now arrived. Coming trembling upon deck, he prostrated himself, and kissing the Captain's feet, begged for mercy. At that moment, hearing the

order given to 'stand by the larboard guns for Tiger Island' (on which we then supposed there was a battery) he said with a rueful countenance, "what! no hab done yet?"—"not half done"—was the reply.—"How many guns have you got on Tiger Island?"—but, without waiting to answer this question (or, indeed, reflecting in his perturbation that there were none at all) he wrung his hands, groaned heavily, and dived again below.'

These prompt and decided measures produced a very wholesome effect; permission was given by the crest-fallen viceroy, for the General Hewitt to *load immediately*; and a high Mandarin waited upon Captain Maxwell 'to welcome him into the river, and compliment him with all possible politeness.' Without a single casualty on our side, the Chinese lost in this foolish business forty-seven men killed, besides the average proportion *spoiled*, i. e. wounded. An additional advantage produced by it to the English, was, that it compelled the Viceroy to lay aside his intention of offering further and grosser insults to the Embassy, and 'commanded as brilliant an entry for the Embassy as ever had been witnessed on any other occasion.' Mr. M'Leod seems to have a mortal antipathy against every thing Chinese; their music he describes in the following choice phrase.

'By collecting together in a small place, a dozen bulls, the same number of jack-asses, a gang of tinkers round a copper caldron, some cleavers and marrow-bones, with about thirty cats; then letting the whole commence bellowing, braying, hammering, and catterwauling together, and some idea may be formed of the melody of a Chinese Orchestra.'

While they lay here, a circumstance occurred which shewed at once the selfish apathy of the general character of the Chinese, and that the general rule is not without exception. In November, 1816, a small boat, containing three men, a woman, and a child, was run down at midnight by a junk, while several others were sailing near, without the smallest effort on the part of any of them to save a single individual. Providentially, their shrieks were heard on board the *Alceste*, and the Hon. Mr. Stopford, the officer in charge of the watch, with several others, jumped into a boat, and came up in time to save the three men; the woman and child were lost. The next day

'one of them returned on board with a *cumshaw*, or present, of three wild ducks, which he presented on his knees to the gentleman who had saved him, stating that by the junk running over their *Sanpan*, he had lost his wife and a *bull-child* (his only mode of expressing a boy) and must himself with the other men have perished also but for the assistance we afforded them. Pleased with this appearance of heart and gratitude, where so little was expected, some money and provisions were given him for his ducks, and he was allowed to bring on board fish and other articles for sale, which, from becoming rather a favorite, soon enabled him to repair the loss of his boat.'



The Embassy, after a separation of nearly five months, rejoined their naval friends at Canton. The transactions which there took place between Lord Amherst and the Viceroy, we shall refer to elsewhere. On the 9th of January, 1817, the ships quitted China. At Manilla, the *Lyra* parted company, and sailed for India. A few interesting particulars are detailed respecting the Philippine Islands, for which we must refer to the volume, and pass on to that moment when every possible precaution being taken, the leads going in both chains, 'men looking out at the mast-heads, yard-arms, and bowsprit end, the captain, master, and officer of the watch' on deck, and keenly observant, just as they were clearing the straits of Gaspar, and leaving behind 'the last danger of this sort between them and England,

'the ship, about half-past seven in the morning, struck with a horrid crash on a reef of sunken rocks, and remained immovable! It was soon indeed but too evident, that any attempt to move her would be attended with the most fatal consequences; for, on each side of the rocks on which she hung, the water deepened from ten to seventeen fathoms immediately around her; and from the injury received, she must have gone down in a few minutes, had she forced her way over this narrow reef.'

Captain Maxwell, in this trying exigency, conducted himself to admiration. He landed the Ambassador on the island, about three miles and a half distant, exerted himself to secure the articles of most pressing necessity, and maintained, by his calmness and resolution, the most complete control over the crew. Neither does Lord Amherst appear to have failed in the smallest portion of that dignity and self-possession which were now especially required from a man in his prominent station, as an example to others. After the necessary deliberation, it was determined that his Lordship and suite should embark in the barge and cutter, and endeavour to reach Java. After what Mr. M'Leod calls a '*fête champêtre* in this wilderness, in which 'salt was received with the same horror as arsenic,' forty-seven persons entered the boats, and among them a Mr. Somerset, 'who had come out,' as Mr. M. dryly remarks, 'to see a little of the world.' Their stock of provisions was exceedingly slender, and their supply of water (none had been found on the island) fearfully small. The number left behind was 200 men and boys, and one female, and of these, the most immediate anxiety was for a sufficient supply of water. For two or three days much misery was experienced from thirst; but at length, after digging upwards of twenty feet, muddy fresh water was procured; and afterwards from another well, it was obtained in larger quantity, and of better quality. In the mean time, the wreck remained stationary, and hands were busily employed in

stripping it of every thing useful ; but on the third day after the ship had struck, the party stationed at the ship were surrounded by a number of Malay proas, well armed, and full of men ; not a moment was to be lost, they sprung into the boat along side and made for the shore, closely pursued by the pirates, but happily in vain. Soon after it was reported that ' the savages,' armed with spears, were landing. ' Under all the depressing ' circumstances,' says Mr. M., ' attending shipwreck ; of hunger, ' thirst, and fatigue ; and menaced by a ruthless foe ; it was ' glorious to see the British spirit staunch and unsubdued.'

The stock of arms was small, consisting of a dozen cutlasses, thirty muskets and bayonets, and seventy-five ball cartridges ; but every man, with right good will, contrived to arm himself in one way or another ; and even a man who had been severely bruised by the falling of the masts, and was unable to stand, employed himself in *fishing*, with rope-yarn, the blade of an old razor, to the end of two sticks, that if they came ' within reach of ' his hammock he might mark them.' An *abbatis* was formed, and though the present proved a false alarm, it was afterwards strengthened into a strong fortification. The next day, the second lieutenant, Mr. Hay, with the boats, drove the pirates from the ship, but not until they had set fire to her, (and by this dastardly and atrocious act, conferred upon our countrymen an unintentional benefit, as it enabled them to get at many articles which floated up when the decks were burnt away ; among other things, a number of muskets and boarding pikes were secured, and from the loose powder which had been preserved, about sixteen hundred ball cartridges were made up.

' Wednesday, at day light, two of the pirate proas, with each a canoe astern, were discovered close in with the cove where our boats were moored. Lieutenant Hay, (a straight forward sort of fellow) who had the guard that night at the boats, and of course slept in them, immediately dashed at them with the barge, cutter, and gig. On perceiving this, they cut adrift their canoes, and made all sail ; they rather distanced the cutter and gig, but the barge gained on them. On closing, the Malays evinced every sign of defiance, placing themselves in the most threatening attitudes, and firing their swivels at the barge. This was returned by Mr. Hay with the only musket in the boat, and as they closed nearer, the Malays commenced throwing their javelins and darts, several falling into the barge, but without wounding any of the men. Soon after, they were grappled by our fellows, when three of them having been shot, and a fourth knocked down with the butt-end of the musket, five more jumped over-board and drowned themselves, (evidently disdaining quarter) and two were taken prisoners, one of whom was severely wounded.'

The proa went down almost immediately. The ferocity of the Malays was so untamable, that one of them, nearly dead,



snatched at a cutlass which lay within his reach, and it was with difficulty wrested from him. The aspect of these wretches is described as truly hideous: they are 'an unjoyous race, and seldom smile.' At the same time, men so desperate in evil, might, if rightly taught, exert admirable energies in good; the conduct of the Malay officers and men in Ceylon\*, is a proof of their firm and honourable character, under circumstances favourable to its development. The dangers and emergencies of our countrymen began now to multiply, but their spirit, borne up by the admirable conduct of Captain Maxwell, never gave way. The Malay fleet was increased to a formidable amount, and demonstrations were made of a combined attack by sea and land. Preparations were made to receive them, and to seize their vessels when near the shore, but to the great disappointment of the besieged, the assault was not made. The number of the proas still continued to increase, and the little stock of provisions in Fort Maxwell to diminish alarmingly. Desperate measures seemed necessary, and were actually under discussion, when a square-rigged vessel was discovered in the horizon, standing towards the island under crowded sail; the pirates made off, and the party were shortly in communication with the Company's cruizer, Ternate. On the 7th of March, the whole were embarked either in the ship or in the boats, which, from the smallness of the vessel, were appropriated to a portion of the crew, and on the 9th reached Batavia. The whole time of their stay on the island called Pulo Leat, was nineteen days, and the Providential interferences in their favour are thus enumerated.

'We had great reason to be thankful that the ship did not fall from the rocks on which she first struck, into deeper water, for then all must have perished;—that no accident happened to the boats which conveyed the embassy to Batavia, for in that case, we should never have been heard of;—that we found water;—that no mutiny or division took place among ourselves;—that we had been able to stand our ground against the pirates;—and that the Ternate had succeeded in anchoring in sight of the island; which she was only enabled to do by a fortuitous slant of wind for an hour or two. Had we been unfortunate in any one of these circumstances, few would have remained to tell our tale.'

So decidedly Providential was this preservation, that the ship Charlotte, which sailed from Batavia at the same time with the Ternate, and for the same purpose, after beating against wind and current from the 24th of February to the 16th of March, was unable to fetch further than the south-east end of the isle of Banca, the current constantly sweeping them to leeward as soon as they opened the straits. Mr. Mayne, the master of the Alceste, with two other gentlemen of that ship, who were now on board the Charlotte, anxious respecting the fate of their

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\* See Page 230 of our present Vol.

friends, 'resolved to shove off in the barge,' with a small store of provisions for their use. They rowed till the following day before they came in sight of the spot where they had left their companions; instead of whom they found a large flotilla of Malays, by three of whom they were instantly chased. The crisis was dreadful; they rowed for life, but the Malays 'in addition to their sails, pulled furiously, and were gaining fast.' Our countrymen had seized their arms and were preparing to make their lives a bloody purchase, when a heavy squall came on, which compelled the pirates to strike sail, while the boat, 'carrying through all, got a-head and escaped.'

On the 12th of April, the Embassy, with the officers and crew of the *Alceste*, embarked for England in the *Cæsar*, Captain Taylor, and landed on their native isle, August 17,

'not merely with the common feeling of happiness which all mankind naturally enjoy on re-visiting the land of their birth, but with those sensations of pride and satisfaction with which every Briton may look round him, in his own country, after having seen all others.'

During the passage, the ship took fire, but it was soon extinguished. On board the vessel was an Ouran Outang, of which an interesting description, but not containing any thing particularly novel, is given. Another passenger was of a very different kind, and a full account is given of his appearance and manners; this was a Boa Constrictor, 'somewhat small of his kind, being only about sixteen feet long, and of about eighteen inches in circumference, but his stomach was rather disproportionate to his size.' There were originally two, but one of them had escaped from his confinement, 'and very soon cleared the decks, as every body very civilly made way for him. Not being used to a ship, however, or taking, perhaps, the sea for a green field, he sprawled overboard and was drowned.'

The other was safely secured in a properly constructed cage, and six goats were provided as 'live stock' for his consumption. A most horrible description is given of the terror and sufferings of one of these animals when put into the cage of the dreadful reptile. The snake at first scarcely observed the 'poor animal,' but at length fixed upon it 'a deadly and malignant eye.'

'The first operation was that of darting out his forked tongue, and at the same time rearing a little his head; then suddenly seizing the goat by the fore leg with his mouth, and throwing him down, he was encircled in an instant in his horrid folds. So quick, indeed, and so instantaneous was the act, that it was impossible for the eye to follow the rapid convolution of his elongated body. It was not a regular screw-like turn that was formed, but resembling rather a knot, one part of the body overlaying the other, as if to add weight to the muscular pressure, the more effectually to crush his object.'

The gradual process by which this tremendous animal devoured



his prey, has been so often described, that we shall not repeat it here, but we cannot refrain from expressing our aversion to the inhumanity which did not at least try the experiment, whether the snake would not have relished the goat fresh-killed, as well as when offered to it living. Mr. M'Leod expresses his feelings of 'horror and disgust' upon this subject with discrimination and energy. The reptile died between the Cape and St. Helena, and on dissection, 'the coats of his stomach were discovered to be excoriated and perforated by worms.'

At St. Helena, Lord Amherst and the principal officers were introduced to Napoleon, who, as usual, captivated the whole party by his address. 'Although there was nothing *descending* in his manner, yet it was affable and polite, and whatever may be his general habit, he can behave himself *very prettily* if he pleases.' His health is good, and his corpulence has been much exaggerated. His interview with Lord Amherst was private. When Captain Maxwell was introduced, he reminded him that he had formerly taken one of his frigates in the Mediterranean:—'*Vous etiez très méchant,--Eh bien!* your Government must not blame you for the loss of the *Alceste*, for you have taken one of my frigates.' He inquired of 'young Jeffery Amherst, what presents he had brought from China;' of Mr. M'Leod, what time he had served; of Mr. Abel, he made inquiries in Natural History; of Mr. Cook, if he was a descendant from Captain Cook. Dr. Lynn was examined in Medical Science. He questioned Mr. Griffith, the Chaplain, respecting the religion of the Chinese, and expressed his wishes that he might be 'made a prebendary.' In this way he accommodated himself to every one, going round the whole circle, and bowed to each as they retired.

We again recommend this volume as containing an uncommon variety of interesting matter. We wish that the surgeons of our ships of war, many of them men of talent and science, and with great opportunities of observation, would favour us in this unpretending and accessible way with the result of their adventures and inquiries. It is by spinning out the matter of lively octavos into tedious and unreadable quartos, that knowledge is oppressed and over-laid.

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Art. V. *A Historical Survey of the Customs, Habits and Present State of the Gypsies*; designed to develop the Origin of this singular People, and to promote the Amelioration of their Condition. By John Hoyland, Author of an Epitome of the History of the World. 8vo. pp. 255. Price 7s. York, Printed for the Author; Darton and Co. London. 1816.

**T**HE existence of such a people as the Gypsies, scattered over all the countries of Europe, and inhabiting the very

heart of our island, yet perfectly distinct in their origin, and separated by their mode of life from the rest of the population, is a phenomenon which might seem to have deserved a much greater degree of attention, even on the score of a philosophical curiosity, than it has hitherto attracted. But when we take into consideration the degraded moral condition of this vast aggregate of uncivilized beings, estimated at between seven and eight hundred thousand, independently of the Gipsies in Egypt and of some parts of Asia, and reflect 'that the greatest part of these people are idlers, cheats, and thieves,' contributing neither to the improvement of the country, nor to the support of the state, 'what a field,' as Grellman remarks, 'does this open for the contemplation of Government!' What scope, we may add, for the exertions of a well-directed philanthropy! It is remarkable how completely the Gipsies of our own country have been hitherto overlooked in all the schemes of benevolence, as if they were objects too near home to need the offices of the Christian missionary, yet too foreign to come within the sphere of domestic exertions; as if their vagrant habits rendered them the outcasts both of law and of humanity, and the mark of Cain was indelibly sealed upon their foreheads, to repel all intercommunication with them as the subjects of a mysterious punishment. How often has the traveller, while contemplating the variety of hill and wood and valley, witnessed the picturesque effect of a gipsy camp thrown out from the evening shades by its gleaming fire; seen the

'column of slow-rising smoke

'O'er-top the lofty wood, that skirts the wild,'

and looked upon the family group merely as figures in the landscape! Persons, too, of real sensibility, who have been ready to weep over the superstitions of India, have, perhaps, in their walks of pleasure, passed by the wretched descendants of one of the most wretched castes of that country, not reflecting that the very people they met with are as utterly abandoned to their own rites, and depraved customs, as the Pariars of the East, and that they possess claims not less powerful on that Christianity which has hitherto left them to be confirmed in all that is degrading to our nature. Till very lately, the existence of the Gipsies, as a distinct nation, had been by many regarded as questionable, as if they were distinguished from the rest of the population by nothing but a capricious choice of a precarious mode of life; and the fact of their having a language peculiar to themselves, other than a sort of gibberish, or slang dialect, has been extensively discredited. Mr. Hoyland remarks on the singular omission, 'that scarcely any of the splendid histories of counties in England, even those in which the Gipsies abound,' have in the least noticed them. This deficiency the



present work amply supplies, and the motives which prompted the undertaking, reflect the highest honour on the Author's benevolence. Mr. Hoyland states that having

‘ had frequent opportunity of observing the very destitute and abject condition of the Gipsy race in the counties of Northampton, Bedford, and Herts, the impressions received from viewing a state so derogatory to human nature, induced him to make numerous inquiries, in order to ascertain if necessity compelled their continuance, under circumstances so deplorable as their condition exhibited.’

The result of these inquiries, instituted in most parts of the nation, prosecuted, it is evident, with indefatigable diligence, and aided by several benevolent coadjutors, present altogether a most interesting mass of information, of great public utility.

Mr. Hoyland has availed himself of the best accessible historic authorities, for elucidating the origin of this singular people, who, there appears to be good ground to believe, were originally of the lowest class of Hindoos, having emigrated, it is supposed, from Hindoostan about A. D. 1408. Their language is undoubtedly a species of Hindoostanee, as is shewn by a comparison of grammatical peculiarities as well as of a number of words taken down as specimens of their language from English Gipsies, and from Turkish Gipsies in Hungary, printed in the seventh volume of *Archæologia*; also by selections from the Vocabulary compiled by Grellman, the learned author of a Dissertation on the subject; and by words obtained, as a translation of familiar English words, from Gipsies in the immediate neighbourhood of London. Throughout the countries of Europe, during the four centuries that they have wandered about as outcasts, they appear to have preserved among themselves, and transmitted unimpaired to their descendants, together with other invariable characteristics of their origin, while speaking the languages of the respective countries they inhabit, one common language of their own to which they appear to be attached, yet which serves them for no other purpose that we are acquainted with, than that of concealment. The combined influence of time, climate and example, has not effected any material alteration in their state. A recent traveller states that he met with numerous hordes in Persia, with whom he had conversed, and found their language the true Hindoostanee. In Russia, he found them, both in language and manners, the same, corresponding exactly to the Gipsies of our own country. In Poland and Lithuania, as well as in Courland; they exist in surprising numbers. In Hungary, their number amounts to about 50,000, and they are scarcely less numerous in other parts of Europe, every where exhibiting the same deeply rooted attachment to their ancient habits, and half-savage customs, and the same features of an oriental character, as vagrants, thieves, and for-

tune-tellers. How far the treatment they have received from civilized nations, among whom they have been universally objects of contempt, or persecution, has tended to keep them in their present state of intellectual debasement, by strengthening their prejudices, and driving them to the usual resources of indigence, demands the serious and dispassionate consideration of every friend of humanity. In our own country, hunted like beasts of prey from township to township, advertised as rogues and vagabonds, even rewards being offered for their apprehension, their condition is daily becoming more and more deplorable, while no asylum is offered them, and no means are devised of remedying the defects of their habits, or of holding out to the well-disposed, encouragement to reformation.

‘ Looking at their condition among the various inhabitants of Europe, dignified with the Christian name, the writer has often been reminded of the universality of the Gospel call, as illustrated in the parable of the great supper. After the invitation had been given throughout the streets and lanes of the cities, the command to the servants was, “ Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in.” ’

The following interesting particulars of information were comprised in Reports received from most of the counties of England, in answer to a series of questions proposed by the Author in a circular.

- ‘ 1. All Gipsies suppose the first of them came from Egypt.
- ‘ 2. They cannot form any idea of the number in England.\*
- ‘ 3. The Gipsies of Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, parts of Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire, are continually making revolutions within the range of those counties.
- ‘ 4. They are either ignorant of the number of Gipsies in the counties through which they travel, or unwilling to disclose their knowledge.
- ‘ 5. The most common names are Smith, Cooper, Draper, Taylor, Boswell, Lee, Lovell, Loversedge, Allen, Mansfield, Glover, Williams, Carew, Martin, Stanley, Buckley, Plunkett, Corrie.
- ‘ 6 and 7. The gangs in different towns have not any regular connection or organization; but those who take up their winter quarters in the same city or town, appear to have some knowledge of the different routes each horde will pursue; probably with a design to prevent interference.
- ‘ 8. In the county of Herts, it is computed there may be sixty families having many children. Whether they are quite so numerous in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Northamptonshire, the answers are not sufficiently definite to determine. In Cambridgeshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire, greater numbers are calculated upon. In various counties, the attention has not

\* Supposed to be about 18,000, of which the children are calculated to form 12,000.



been competent to procuring data for any estimate of families or individuals.

'9. More than half their number follow no business; others are dealers in horses and asses; farriers, smiths, tinkers, braziers, grinders of cutlery, basket-makers, chair-bottomers and musicians.

'10. Children are brought up in the habits of their parents, particularly to music and dancing, and are of dissolute conduct.

'11. The women mostly carry baskets with trinkets and small wares; and tell fortunes.

'12. Too indolent to have acquired accounts of genealogy, and perhaps indisposed to it by the irregularity of their habits.

'13. In most countries there are particular situations to which they are partial. In Berkshire is a marsh, near Newbury, much frequented by them; and Dr. Clarke states, that in Cambridgeshire, their principal rendezvous is near the western villages.

'14. It cannot be ascertained, whether from their first coming into the nation, attachment to particular places has prevailed.

'15, 16 and 17. When among strangers, they elude inquiries respecting their peculiar language, calling it gibberish. No person is known that can write it, nor any written specimen.

'18. Their habits and customs in all places are peculiar.

'19. Those who profess any religion, represent it to be that of the country in which they reside: but their description of it seldom goes beyond repeating the Lord's Prayer; and only a few of them are capable of that. Instances of their attending any place of worship are very rare.

'20. They marry for the most part by pledging to each other, without any ceremony. A few exceptions have occurred when money was plentiful.

'21. They do not teach their children religion.

'22 and 23. Not *one* in a *thousand* can read.

'24 and 25. Some go into lodgings in London, Cambridge, &c. during winter; but it is calculated three fourths of them live out of doors in winter, as in summer.'

Most of the above answers were confirmed by Riley Smith, who, during many years, was accounted the chief of the Gipsies in Northamptonshire. This man, who was much in request as a musician, had the address to marry the cook of a very respectable family, and obtained a farm near Bedford; but being unsuccessful in agriculture, he returned to his former occupation. Besides the real Gipsies, there are numerous itinerant hordes, it seems, who traverse the country with carts and asses for the sale of earthenware, and are known under the name of potters, whose habits and manner of life are very similar to theirs; and, indeed, they confess that Gipsies have intermingled with them. These people also are without education, and though there is reason to believe many of them have acquired property, they evade all contributions to the service of the State, and all parochial assessments. It is but justice, however, to state, that

ideas of independence prevail among the Gipsies, which prevent their applying to parishes for assistance. Few instances occur of their begging in London. 'In the minutes of evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, on Mendicity, there is only one example of a Gipsy girl begging in the streets.'

The *routing* of the Gipsies, as it is termed, from various parts of the south of England, has occasioned their appearing lately in greater numbers in the northern counties. 'The winter before the last, severe as it was,' Mr. Hoyland states, 'a gang of about fifty or sixty, lay upon Bramley-moor, three miles from Chesterfield.' In the summer of 1815, a numerous horde who had been driven from the township of Rotherham, had two encampments in the neighbourhood of Sheffield; there were also encampments of Gipsies at Borough-Bridge, at Knaresborough, and at Pocklington, in the east-riding of Yorkshire. A few continue all the year in London, excepting during their attendance at fairs in the vicinity; others go out twenty or thirty miles round the metropolis, carrying their implements with them, and are found sometimes assisting in hay-making and hop-picking, in Kent, Surry, and Sussex. Among those who have winter quarters in London, from Michaelmas till April, a few take in summer still wider circuits, extending to Suffolk, Herefordshire, Wiltshire, and even South Wales. In fact, there is reason to think the greatest part of the Island is traversed in different directions by hordes of Gipsies.

One of the most important facts mentioned by Mr. Hoyland, is the disposition and even anxiety manifested by some of those who winter in towns, to obtain for their children the benefit of education. Uriah Lovell, the head of one of the families, paid sixpence a week for each of his three children who attended during four winters, a school for the Irish kept by Partak Ivery. Partak, on being called upon to verify this statement, confirmed the account, adding that there had been six Gipsy children at his school, who, when placed among others, were reducible to order.

Mr. Hoyland deserves the warmest thanks of every feeling heart for having thus fairly placed the subject before the public, on whom it now devolves to obviate the reproach which the neglect of this unfortunate race, if persisted in, would leave on the national character. The suggestions of different correspondents in the eleventh Section, will be found highly deserving of attention.



Art. VI. *Commentaries on the Law of Moses.* By the late Sir John David Michaelis, K.P.S. F.R.S. &c.

(Concluded from page 430.)

**T**HE subjects included in these volumes are so numerous and multifarious, as to prevent our entering into any detailed examination of them. We shall therefore do little more in conducting our review of them to its conclusion, than transfer for the use of our readers, and as specimens of the various articles comprised in the *Commentaries*, the contents of some pages of the work selected from its different divisions. Not only was the Book of the Law ordered by the Hebrew Legislator to be deposited beside the Ark of the Covenant (Deut. xxxi. 26.) for the purpose of preserving his law in its original purity, but he also commanded that it should be engraven on stones. His direction to this effect occurs Deut. xxvii. 1, 8. In the explanation of this passage the expression, "Thou shalt plaster them with plaster," שרת אתם נשך, is understood by some Expositors, as meaning that the stones should be coated over with lime, and the laws cut through this coating, and Kennicott in his *second Dissertation on the printed Hebrew Text*, supposes that they might have been cut out in black marble, with the letters raised, and the hollow intervals between the black letters filled up with a body of white lime, to render them more distinct and conspicuous. Neither of these explanations satisfies Michaelis, who attempts the solution of the difficulty, in the following manner.

'I rather suppose, therefore, that Moses acted in this matter with the same view to future ages, as is related of Sostratus, the architect of the Pharos, who, while he cut the name of the then king of Egypt, in the outer coat of lime, took care to engrave his own name secretly in the stone below, in order that it might come to light in after times, when the plaster with the king's name, should have fallen off. In like manner, Moses, in my opinion, commanded that his laws should be cut in the stones themselves, and these coated with a thick crust of lime, that the engraving might continue for many ages secure from all the injuries of the weather and atmosphere, and then, when by the decay of its covering it should, after hundreds or thousands of years, first come to light, serve to shew to the latest posterity whether they had suffered any change. And was not the idea of thus preserving an inscription, not merely for hundreds, but for thousands of years, a conception exceedingly sublime? It is by no means impossible that these stones, if again discovered, might be found still to contain the whole engraving perfectly legible. Let us only figure to ourselves what must have happened to them amidst the successive devastations of the country in which they were erected. The lime would gradually become irregularly covered with moss and earth; and now, perhaps, the stones, by the soil increasing around

and over them, may resemble a little mount, and were they accidentally disclosed to our view, and the lime cleared away, all that was inscribed on them 3500 years ago, would at once become visible. Probably, however, this discovery, highly desirable though it would be both to literature and religion, being in the present state of things, and particularly of the Mosaic law, now so long abrogated, not indispensably necessary, is reserved for some future age of the world. What Moses commanded, merely out of legislative prudence, and for the sake of his laws, as laws, God, who sent him, may have destined to answer likewise another purpose; and may chuse to bring these stones to light at a time when the laws of Moses are no longer of any authority, in any community whatever. Thus much is certain, that no where in the Bible. is any mention made of the discovery of these stones, nor indeed any farther notice taken of them, than in Josh. viii. 30—35, where their erection is described; so that we may hope they will yet be one day discovered. Moses's whole procedure in this matter, is precisely in the style of ancient nations, who generally took the precaution, now rendered unnecessary by the invention of printing, to engrave their laws in stones; only that he studied, by a new contrivance, to give to his stony archives a higher degree of durability than was ever thought of by any other legislator.' Vol. I. pp. 357, 358.

The splendid discovery here anticipated, will, we fear, never be made. The conceit here attributed to Moses, never, we imagine, entered the mind of the Hebrew legislator, who, in whatever way the words of the law might be inscribed on the stones, clearly intended that they should at all times be legible to the people. The opinion of Houbigant, who interprets the phrase שרת את־בשר, as an order by which Moses directed the stones that he had commanded to be erected for the purpose of exhibiting the law to the Israelites, to be strongly cemented together with mortar made of lime, is so satisfactory, as to exclude the probability of Kennicott's notion, and to place the enjuncture of Michaelis among the wildest of suppositions.

The laws of Moses were ordained for a people, who, at the time of their delivery, were not in possession of landed property; he could therefore proceed to the enactment of statutes for the appropriation and regulation of the land which they expected to acquire in Canaan, unfettered by previously existing ordinances. The principle which he adopted, and ordered to be observed by the Israelites, was, that the land should first be divided by lot, and in equal portions among them, and then become absolutely inalienable, continuing for ever the property of the descendants of the original possessor. The statute on this point, stands in the xxvth chapter of Leviticus, and occupies a considerable part of that chapter. To Michaelis it seems highly probable, that the law relative to the inalienability of property, is altogether an imitation of the Egyptian plan, and



that in the time of Moses the Egyptians may likewise have had a year of jubilee. As the family of the original proprietor were, in cases where a sale of property had taken place, to resume the possession of his estate every fiftieth year, the year of jubilee, only the crops could in fact be sold; and with respect to these there was established a law of redemption, or right of repurchase, which put it in the power of a seller, if before the return of the year of jubilee, his circumstances permitted him, to buy back the yet remaining crops, after deducting the amount of those already reaped by the purchaser, at the same price for which they were originally sold; and of this right, even the nearest relation of the seller, or, as the Hebrews termed him, his *Goël*, might likewise avail himself, if he had the means.

‘ The advantages of this law, if sacredly observed, would have been very great. It served, in the *first* place, to perpetuate that equality among citizens, which Moses at first established, and which was suitable to the spirit of the democracy, by putting it out of the power of any flourishing citizen to become, by the acquisition of exorbitant wealth, and the accumulation of extensive landed property, too formidable to the state, or, in other words, a little prince, whose influence could carry every thing before it. In the *second* place, it rendered it impossible that any Israelite could be born to absolute poverty, for every one had his hereditary land; and if that was sold, or he himself from poverty compelled to become a servant, at the coming of the year of jubilee, he recovered his property. And hence, perhaps, Moses might have been able with some justice to say, what we read in most of the versions of Deut. xv. 4. *There will not be a poor man among you.* I doubt, however, whether that be the true meaning of the original words. For in the 11th verse of this same chapter, he assures them that *they should never be without poor*; to prevent which, indeed, is impossible for any legislator, because, in spite of every precaution that laws can take, some people will become poor, either by misfortunes or misconduct. But here, if a man happened to be reduced to poverty, before the expiry of fifty years, either he himself, or his descendants, had their circumstances repaired by the legal recovery of their landed property, which though indeed small, then became perfectly free and unincumbered. In the *third* place, it served to prevent the strength of the country from being impaired, by cutting off one, and perhaps the greatest cause of emigration, viz. poverty. No Israelite needed to leave his home on that ground. Here, to be sure, the extraordinary case of any public calamity that might make the lands lose their value, must be excepted. But it was enough that in ordinary cases the law took away the chief inducement to emigration, by such a judicious provision as made it the interest of the people to remain contented at home. In the *fourth* place, as every man had his hereditary land, this law, by its manifest tendency to encourage marriage, rather served to promote the population of the country, than to impair it. In the *fifth* place, the land being divided into numerous small portions, each cultivated

by the father of a family, acquainted with it from his infancy, and naturally attached to it as the unalienable property of his family, could not fail, in consequence of this law, to be better managed and more productive, than large estates in the hands of tenants and day-labourers could ever have been. And, *lastly*, this institution served to attach every Israelite to his country in the strongest manner, by suggesting to him that, if he had to fight in its defence, he would at the same time be defending his own property, which it was, moreover, out of his power to convert into money, wherewith he might betake himself to a more peaceful habitation elsewhere.' Vol. I. p. 379—383.

No forms of marriage are prescribed in the Mosaic code. The legislator was satisfied with those which he found in use among the people, and left it to future dispensers of the law to allow what ceremonies every age might challenge as its own customs: forms of this kind, being quite arbitrary, may therefore change, while the laws themselves continue the same. The most prudent plan that a legislator can adopt with regard to forms of marriage, is, says Michaelis, to fix nothing, but leave every age to follow its own customs, and regard *that* as marriage, which, according to the existing custom of the time, has, *bona fide*, been considered as marriage.

'No danger could, by his law, hence arise to the woman; for, allowing that a man had betrayed her into the belief that she might become his wife without the legal ceremonies, and that in this belief she had granted him the rights of a husband, he would find in the end that he had deceived himself and not her. For whoever seduced a virgin, was obliged to marry her, and not only so, but to purchase her from her father at the advanced price of 50 pieces of silver; and forfeited, after all, the right enjoyed in cases of regular marriage, of giving her a bill of divorce. Exod. xxii. 15, 16; Deut. xxii. 28, 29. Thus, by the very artifice to which seducers in England often recur but too successfully, she would become his wife by a tie utterly indissoluble; and were the English law to make the seduction of a woman, by a pretended marriage, felony, like rape, unless when she herself should intercede for the seducer, and at the same time resolve to be legally re-married to him, we should soon cease to hear of any more such villainous practices in that country.' Vol. I. p. 476.

Paley has well remarked that, 'if we pursue the effects of seduction through the complicated misery which it occasions, and if it be right to estimate crimes by the mischief they knowingly produce, it will appear something more than mere invective to assert, that not one half of the crimes for which men suffer death by the laws of England, are so flagitious as this.\* The laws of England, in fact, do not class seduction in the list of crimes. No punishment is provided for it *per se*.—A pecuniary satisfaction may be obtained by a civil process, and this

\* Paley's Philosophy, Vol. I. p. 303.



can only be come at 'by one of the quaintest fictions in the world, by the father's bringing his action against the seducer, 'for the loss of his daughter's service, during her pregnancy 'and nurturing.' Seduction was most effectually prevented by the Mosaic law.

Michaelis supposes that he has been able to trace to their origin several of the peculiarities of the Mosaic law. One of the most singular of these is what has been termed the Levirate law, which prescribes that, when a man died without issue, his brother should marry the widow he left, with the express view, that the first son produced from the marriage should be ascribed, not to the natural father, but to his deceased brother, and become his heir. This regulation was, in the Mosaic code, the limitation and mitigation of a consuetudinary law, several centuries older than the laws of the Hebrew legislator.

'The law which obliged a man to marry the widow of his childless brother, was much more ancient than the time of Moses; having been in use in Palestine among the Canaanites, and the ancestors of the Israelites, at least more than 250 years previous to the date of his law, and indeed with such rigour as left a person no possible means of evading it, however irksome and odious compliance with it might appear to him. That the Mosaic statute considerably mitigated its severity, will appear from comparing the story of Judah, and his daughter-in-law (Gen. xxxviii.) Tamar, with the provisions of that statute. Whence so strange a law could have arisen, remained altogether unknown, until very lately that Euler learned it from the Russian Generals; and Süsmilch from Euler's communication declared the mystery to the world, in his work, entitled (*Göttliche Ordnung in Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechts*, that is), *The Divine plan, in the changes that occur in the numbers and circumstances of the human race*. It has been commonly believed that its only foundation was the peculiar notion of the Israelites on the subject of having descendants, who, by bearing their name, might serve in some measure to immortalize them; and this fancy in regard to honour may, no doubt, have been a reason with Moses for retaining a law, of which he does not appear to have very highly approved; but it can hardly have been the sole or first cause whence it originated. For as we see from the story of Tamar, this very Levirate-law was long before the time of Moses in force among the Canaanites; a people who did by no means entertain any such genealogical ideas with regard to honour and posthumous fame, and who, at a former period, would seem to have scarcely had a marriage among them, but to have lived in *concubitu promiscuo*.\* And what is still more remarkable, the Mongols, who inhabit quite a different region of Asia, and give themselves very little concern about their genealogies and descendants, have a law which, in like manner, enjoins the marriage

\* I here refer to § VI. of my Dissertation, *De Troglodytis Sciritis*; only remarking that these Troglodytes, who inhabited Mount Seir, were Canaanites.

of a brother's widow.\* Some have on this ground been disposed to consider the Mongols as descendants of the ten tribes that were carried captive into Assyria; but the situation of the two countries, their languages, their customs in other respects, and even the striking peculiarity of the features of the people, all concur very strongly to refute that opinion.† If they are to furnish a proof of Levirate-marriage, why were they not rather made Canaanites than Israelites? Had the patrons of that opinion read Moses with so little attention, as to have forgotten the narrative given in the 38th chapter of Genesis?

‘The truth is that we have no ground for considering the Mongols as either the one or the other; and *Süsmilch*, without having the Mosaic statute at all in his view, has traced the source of Levirate-marriage so distinctly, that we have only to read, in order to be convinced.

‘It is the practice of polygamy, either at home, or among opulent neighbouring nations, that has originally given occasion to the Levirate law, and that by the following gradual process.

‘Among the Mongols, whose daughters are frequently bought by their richer neighbours that live in polygamy, young women are so scarce that every man cannot procure himself a wife; and hence has arisen one of the most shameful customs that can possibly be conceived. All the brothers of a family are satisfied with one and the same wife, whom they purchase in common, and on this footing, that that the eldest brother is to regard, and breed up as his own her first son: the second, her second; and so on, to whomsoever of the brothers he may naturally and properly belong; which, indeed, in the case of so many being concerned, it would not be easy to ascertain. This is the substance of what *Süsmilch* learned from *Euler*, and *Euler* from the Russian Generals, who were acquainted with those countries; and it has furnished us with a clue by which we can trace the progress and effects of polygamy in its different degrees of refinement.

‘For we have only to suppose it, in a small degree, refined, and conceive the case of a brother, not in absolute poverty, and possessed of some feelings of jealousy, honour, delicacy, love, or whatever you chuse to call it; and the result will naturally be the following:—As young women are scarce and dear, one only of many brothers will marry, who has saved as much as enables him to purchase a wife. When he dies, his widow, with the inheritance, will, whether she have sons or not, devolve to his next brother. A little farther degree of refinement will except from going with the inheritance the widow, who, by having had sons, has in a manner repaid the price which she cost; while she, who has yet had no sons, still conti-

\* See Du Halde's *Description de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*, tom. iv. p. 48.

† I here refer to my Dissertation, *De X. Tribuum exilio*, where I have likewise shewn that the ten tribes that were carried into captivity, were by no means so great a people as they are commonly represented, and that their posterity very probably returned back into Palestine.



nues a part of the inheritance, and belongs to the next brother. Thus far the law only gives the surviving brother a right to the widow as a part of the inheritance, but there thence arises on the other hand a reciprocal right on the widow's part to him. If she may not marry any other man, and if a breach of chastity expose her to the punishment of adultery, she certainly acquires a right to insist on his marrying and cohabiting with her. And this will assume an appearance of still farther refinement, if it be understood that she is actuated herein not by the impulse of incontinence, but by a principle of affection and duty towards her deceased husband, to whom, as he left no sons, she would fain erect a memorial. In this way the natural impulse is clothed in the garb of decency, in conformity to the prevailing ideas of the people. At last, however, a compulsory law is introduced, obliging the surviving brother to marry his sister-in-law: and whoever refuses to do so, is *not* only regarded as pouring unjust contempt on *her*, but as destitute of all love to the deceased brother, whose name he will not help to preserve.

'And thus we have the complete detail of the progress of the Levirate-law.' Vol. II. p. 22—28.

Such is the process by which Michaelis obtains the Levirate-law. Whatever objection may exist against the reception of it as a true account in the mind of any reader, the singular and offensive custom on which he founds it is not more extraordinary than some other usages which have obtained among rude tribes. So late as the eleventh century, it was not uncommon, according to Lord Hales, (*Annals of Scotland*, p. 39.) in Scotland, for sons to marry the widows of their deceased fathers, provided they were not their own mothers. A wise and good legislator could scarcely have been inclined to patronise such a law. Nor would it probably have existed in the Mosaic code, but on the principle which supplied the reason for admitting some other legislative measures into it—the point of honour. In the present instance, the point of honour was conceded by the lawgiver, who, extending his forbearance and tenderness to a long continued custom, studied so to modify it by positive statute as to guard against its rigour and evil effects. He expressly prohibited the marriage of a brother's widow, if there were children of his own alive. He provided, by easy means, for dispensing with the obligations of the law in cases where there was a declared unwillingness on the part of the brother, whose refusal subjected him to a slight punishment. And he strictly limited the operation of the law, to the brother of the deceased husband.

The laws in the Hebrew code, relating to the avenger of blood, are among the most curious and singular of legislative enactments, and are explained by Michaelis with great copiousness of illustration. From these discussions, we shall extract as largely as our limits will admit.

'I must now speak of a person quite unknown in our law, but very

conspicuous in the Hebrew law, and in regard to whom Moses has left us, I might almost say, an inimitable, but at any rate, an unexampled proof of legislative wisdom. In German, we may call him by the name which Luther so happily employs, in his version of the Bible, *Der Bluträcher*, the blood-avenger; and by this name we must here understand "the nearest relation of a person murdered, whose right and duty it was to seek after and kill the murderer with his own hand; so much so, indeed, that the neglect thereof drew after it the greatest possible infamy, and subjected the man who avenged not the death of his relation to unceasing reproaches of cowardice or avarice." If, instead of this description, the reader prefers a short definition, it may be to this effect; "the nearest relation of a person murdered, whose right and duty it was to avenge his kinsman's death with his own hand." Among the Hebrews this person was called גּוֹל, *Goël*, according, at least, to the pronunciation adopted from the pointed Bibles. The etymology, of this word, like most forensic terms, is as yet unknown. Yet we cannot but be curious to find out whence the Hebrews had derived the name, which they applied to a person so peculiar to their own law, and so totally unknown to ours. Unquestionably the verb גָּאַל, *Gaal*, means to *buy off, ransom, redeem*: but this signification it has derived from the noun, for originally it meant to *pollute, or stain*.

If I might here mention a conjecture of my own, *Goël of blood*, (for that is the term at full length) implies *blood-stained*; and the nearest kinsman of a murdered person was considered as stained with his blood, until he had, as it were, washed away the stain, and revenged the death of his relation. The name, therefore, indicated a person who continued in a state of dishonour, until he again rendered himself honourable, by the exercise and accomplishment of revenge, and in this very light do the Arabs regard the kinsman of a person murdered. It was no doubt afterwards used in a more extensive sense, to signify the nearest relation in general; and although there was no murder in the case, just as in all languages, words are gradually extended far beyond their etymological meaning. Etymology may shew the circumstances from which they may have received their signification; but it is by no means a definition suited to all their derivative meanings, else would it be prophetic. In Arabic, this personage is called *Tair*, or, according to another pronunciation, *Thsair*. Were this Arabic word to be written Hebraically, it would be טַאִיר, (*Schaër*) that is, *the survivor*. It appears, therefore, according to its derivation, to be equivalent to *the surviving relation, who was bound to avenge the death of a murdered person*. The Latin word, *superstes*, expresses this idea exactly. In Arabic writings, this word occurs ten times for once that we meet with *Goël* in Hebrew; for the Arabs, among whom the point of honour and heroic celebrity consists entirely in the revenge of blood, have much more to say of their blood-avenger than the Hebrews, among whom Moses, by the wisdom of his laws, brought this character, in a great measure, into oblivion.\*

The 'revenge of blood' was a usage common to mankind,



in that state of nature whence they soon pass into the state of civil society ; and in which, as there existed no magistracy, and human life was ever insecure, murders might have been daily perpetrated, but for the dread of perishing by the hands of an avenger of blood, who would generally be found in the person of a relative or dependant of the murdered party. Traces of this custom may be found in the early history of perhaps all nations, among the Highland clans, as well as among the Arabian hordes. This custom Michaelis considers to be connected with the command of God given to the patriarch Noah, Gen. ix. 5, 6, which he regards as imposing a duty on mankind in general, to provide for their common security, and that he gave every individual a right to put a murderer to death ; a command which remained in force till mankind introduced civil relations, and committed the cognizance of murder, with other crimes, into the hands of magistrates. The most mischievous consequences, it is easy to perceive, must have ensued from a usage of this kind ; danger to the innocent must have been inseparable from the practice of attempting to inflict immediate death upon an offender, while the mind, intent on its revenge, was under no control, and disdained, or was incapable of inquiry. It would be found extremely difficult, however, to suppress this usage in a state of society, though there can be no doubt that it should be abolished. The prejudices of a people must therefore be an object of extreme caution in a wise legislator providing for them a code of laws in the early stages of their political existence. The Mosaic statutes relative to the *Goël*, or blood-avenger, are cited and elucidated by Michaelis, as most admirable examples of this kind of legislative wisdom.

‘ Moses found the *Goël* already instituted, and speaks of him in his laws as a character perfectly known, and therefore unnecessary to be described ; at the same time that he expresses his fear of his frequently shedding innocent blood. But long before he has occasion to mention him as the avenger of murder, he introduces his name in his laws relating to land, as in Lev. xxv. 25, 26, where he gives him the right of redeeming a mortgaged field ; and also in the law relative to the restoration of any thing iniquitously acquired, Num. v. 8. The only book that is possibly more ancient than the Mosaic law, namely, the book of Job, compares God, who will re-demand our ashes from the earth, with the *Goël*, Chap. xix. 25. From this term, the verb *לָאָץ*, which otherwise signifies properly *to pollute*, had already acquired the significations of *redeeming, setting free, vindicating*, in which we find Moses often using it, before he ever speaks of the blood avenger, as in Gen. xlviii. 15. Exod. vi. 6. Lev. xxv. 25, 30, 33. xxvii. 20, &c. ; and even re-purchase itself is, in Lev. xxv. 31, 32, thence termed *גְּאֻלָּה* *Geulla*. Derivatives in any language follow their primitives but very slowly : and when *verba denominativa* descend from terms of law, the law itself must be ancient.

‘ In the first statute given by Moses concerning the punishment of

murder, immediately after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, although he does not mention the *Goël* by name, he yet pre-supposes him as well known. Exod. xxi. 12, 13. The first passage in which Moses expressly speaks of the *Goël*, as the avenger of blood, is in the xxxvth Chapter of Numbers: but even there, he certainly does not institute his office, but only appoints (and that too, merely by the bye, while he is fixing the inheritance of the Levites) certain *cities of refuge*, to serve as *asyla* from the pursuit of the blood-avenger (vers. 12.) for which there was no necessity, had there been no such person. Now to this *Goël*, although Moses leaves his rights, of which indeed he would in vain have endeavoured to deprive him, considering that the desire of revenge forms a principal trait in the character of southern nations; he nevertheless avails himself of the aid of certain particulars of those rights, in order to bring the prevalent ideas of honour under the inspection of the Magistrate, without hurting their energy, and to give an opportunity of investigating the circumstances of the crime meant to be avenged, before its punishment should be authorized.

\* We see that sacred places enjoyed the privileges of *asyla*: for Moses himself took it for granted, that the murderer would flee to the altar, and, therefore, he commanded, that when the crime was deliberate and intentional, he should be torn even from the altar, and put to death, Exod. xxi. 14. Among the Arabs we find that revenge likewise ceased in sacred places, as for instance (long before Mahomet's time) in the country round about Mecca, particularly during the *holy month of concourse*. In such places, therefore, honour did not bind the avenger to put a murderer to death. Now Moses appointed, as places of refuge, six cities, to which ideas of sanctity were attached, because they were inhabited by the priests, Numb. xxxv. 9—35. Deut. xix. 1—10. To these every murderer might flee, and they were bound to protect him, until the circumstances of the case should be investigated; and in order that the *Goël* might not lie in wait for him, or obstruct his flight, it was enjoined, that the roads to these six cities should be kept in such a state, that the unfortunate man might meet with no impediment in his way, Deut. xix. 3. I do by this understand, such a state of improvement as is necessary in our highways on account of carriages, but, 1. That the roads were not to make such circuits, as that the *Goël* could overtake the fugitive on foot, or catch him by lying in wait, before he reached an asylum; for, in fact, the Hebrew word (כֶּן) properly signifies *to make straight*; 2. That guide-posts were to be set up, to prevent him from mistaking the right way; and 3. That the bridges were not to be defective;—in short, that nothing should retard his flight.

\* If the *Goël* happened to find the fugitive before he reached an asylum, and put him to death, in that case Moses yielded to the established prejudices respecting the point of honour. It was considered as done in the ardour of becoming zeal, and subjected him to no inquisition, Deut. xix. 6.

\* If he reached a place of refuge, he was immediately protected, and an inquiry was then made, as to his right to protection and asylum: that is, whether he had caused his neighbour's death undesignedly, or was a deliberate murderer. In the latter case, he wa



judicially delivered to the *Goël*, who might put him to death in what ever way he chose. Even although he had fled to the altar itself which enjoyed the *jus asyli* in the highest degree, it could not save him, if he had committed real murder, Deut. xix. 14.

‘If, however, the person was killed accidentally, and unintentionally, the author of his death continued in the place of refuge, and the fields belonging to it, which extended the distance of 1000 ells all around the walls of the Levitical cities; and he was there secure, in consequence of the sanctity of the place, without any reflection upon the honour of the *Goël*, even in the opinion of the people. But farther abroad he durst not venture; for if the *Goël* met with him without the limits of the asylum, Moses paid no respect to the popular point *d'honneur*; he might kill him without subjecting himself to any criminal accusation. The expression of Moses is, *It is no blood*, or blood-guilt, Numb. xxxv. 26, 27. This confinement to one place may, perhaps, be thought a hardship: but it was impossible in any other way to secure the safety of an innocent man-slayer, without attacking the popular notions of honour; that is, without making a law which would have been as little kept as are our laws against duelling. But by this exile in a strange city, Moses had it besides in view, to punish that imprudence which had cost another man his life: Allowing that it was an accident purely blameless, still its disagreeable consequences could not fail to make people more on their guard against similar misfortunes; a matter to which, in many cases, our legislators and our police regulations, pay too little attention. For that very reason, Moses prohibited the fugitive from being permitted by any payment of a fine, to return home to his own city before the appointed time, Numb. xxxv. 32.

‘His exile in the city of refuge continued until the death of the High-Priest.’ Vol. II. p. 219—224.

The points obtained by these regulations were, that an innocent man could but very rarely be killed by the avenger of blood, and that a judicial inquiry always preceded the exercise of his revenge, which even in the event of its terminating in condemnation, drew after it no fresh bloodshed on the part of the murderer's family, as the justice of the whole proceeding was universally admitted. Murders, of course, would be much less frequent than when the avengement of blood was altogether arbitrary and subject to no restraint.

The humane provisions of the Mosaic statutes, cannot escape the notice of the most superficial inquirer into the nature of the early Hebrew polity. The stranger, the poor, the widow, and the orphan, are recommended by the Israelitish Lawgiver, to the attention of the people, with such frequency, and by such considerations as were most wisely and powerfully calculated to obtain for them the attentions which their wants and welfare might require. It was obviously the design of Moses to alleviate as much as possible the hardships of their condition, and to provide for their kind treatment in the easiest and best pos-

sible manner. Nor did he omit to include in his legislation the direction of the people's respect to a class of persons, who, in modern times and nations, are possibly not regarded with the feelings appropriate to their state. The following may perhaps be the true way of accounting for this difference.

' Art. CXL. *Of the Veneration paid to Old Age.* MONTESQUIEU, I think, has remarked, that veneration for old age is peculiarly suitable to a democracy; but although he had not done so, the remark is nevertheless natural. In a monarchy or aristocracy, it is birth and office alone which give rank. The more pure a democracy is, the more are all on an equal footing; and those invested with authority are obliged to bear in mind that equality. There great actions confer respect and honour; and the right discharge of official duties, or the arrival of old age, are the only sources of rank. For how else can rank be established among those who have no official situations, and are by birth perfectly equal?

' After this remark, the Mosaic statute, Lev. xix. 32. *Before the hoary head thou shalt stand up, and shalt reverence the aged,* will perhaps be somewhat better understood, and found suited to the republican circumstances of the Israelites. It is indeed, in general, quite conformable to the nature and wishes of the human heart; for while we are all fain to be old, no man has any desire to sink in honour, or to be of less consequence than he was before; and to allow precedence to old age, cannot be a matter that will ever affect a young man very sensibly; for he admits this chronological privilege, and desires not to be, or to appear older than he is. But in monarchies and aristocracies there arises from birth a new order of nobility, and which extends to the sons of those in official situations; and then age ceases to confer dignity, quite happy, if, instead of veneration, it only experiences compassion.' Vol. II. p. 239.

The ascertainment of the Hebrew population by a periodical census, was a fundamental principle of the Mosaic law. In discussing this regulation as a part of the civil police of the ancient Jews, Michaelis takes the occasion of delivering his sentiments on the enumeration of the people ordered by David, which is recorded (2 Sam. xxiv. and 1 Chron. xxi.) as an exercise of his authority displeasing to God, and on account of which the pestilence was commissioned to destroy his subjects. The common opinion is, that David had offended God by his pride, and his desire to gratify it by knowing over how many persons he was king. This is, in the opinion of Michaelis, the worst explanation that can be given, of the unlawfulness of this order. Were God, he remarks, to punish by pestilence every ambitious motion in the hearts of kings, and every sin they commit in thought, pestilence would never cease. It must besides, he thinks, appear very strange, how such a man as Joab should have expressed so great an abhorrence at a sin



that consisted merely in pride of heart, and have so earnestly dissuaded David from it.

'David's sin, therefore, or rather (not to speak so theologically, but more in the language of politics) his injustice and tyranny towards a people who had subjected themselves to him on very different terms, and with the reservation of many liberties, consisted in this.—Agitated, in all probability, by the desire of conquest, he aspired at the establishment of a military government, such as was that of Rome in aftertimes, and at subjecting, with that view, the whole people to martial regulations; that so every man might be duly enrolled to serve under such and such generals and officers, and be obliged to perform military duty at stated periods, in order to acquire the use of arms, to form a standing army; the many successful wars he had already carried on, having filled his mind with the spirit of conquest.' Vol. III. p. 22.

The Author, under the 179th Article, *Of the retention of the property of enemies, that happens to be in our possession at the commencement of a war*, defends the conduct of the Israelites in borrowing the vessels of the Egyptians, which they never returned, in the following manner.

'The case was this:

'For the celebration of a festival (the passover) which they were to hold while yet in Egypt, it was suggested by Moses (Exod. xi. 2.) to the Israelites, that they should borrow gold and silver vessels from the Egyptians; but neither then, nor previously, is it so much as insinuated to them, that they either should, or could keep them: for of what we find on record in Exod. iii. 22. as having been spoken by God to Moses on that point, the Israelites knew nothing. We may, indeed, easily conceive, that had 600,000 men been apprized of this, it could not possibly have remained a secret from the Egyptians; for, among that number of men, and as many women, there must have been some, whom honourable friendship for those who were so ready to oblige them, would have prompted to a disclosure; and although there had not, some babblers would unquestionably have betrayed the secret; and then the Egyptians would not have lent them any thing.

'I must believe, therefore, that the Israelites all borrowed the vessels, with the honest intention of restoring them, and without knowing aught of the predetermination and hidden design of Providence. On the very night of their festival they were suddenly hurried away, and driven out of Egypt. They had no time allowed them to attend to any thing, not even so much as to leaven the dough of their bread, for they were compelled to depart on a moment's warning. On this Pharaoh and the Egyptians insisted, because there was a corpse in every house, and they were afraid of being all dead men, if the Israelites tarried any longer in their land. (Exod. xii. 29—36.)

'Now let us consider, what, in such a case, we ourselves could do with borrowed goods, allowing that we were perfectly honest people,

and desirous of fulfilling all our obligations to our creditors, not only according to our conscience, but to the utmost legal strictness. We would not surely leave them behind us on the spot, because they might not thus come again into the hands of the right owners, but be carried off by the person who first happened to find them. On the condition of just leaving it any where at our departure, no man will lend us any thing; but only in the conviction, that we are to keep it in our own custody, and be accountable for it until we can again restore it. We should, therefore, in such a case, as above supposed, take it along with us; but still with the determination of delivering it back to the owner on the first opportunity. And so, in like manner, must the Israelites have acted, if they wished to behave like honest debtors: and, consequently, there is here no reason to charge them with carrying away the borrowed vessels, with any other intention, than that of taking care of them, and restoring them safe to the owners, when demanded, or when an opportunity should present itself.

‘In the course of a few days, however, the state of the case became completely altered. The Egyptians, who had permitted them to depart, yea had thrust them out, all at once changed their minds, and pursued them with a great army. This was a breach of the agreement between the two peoples, and on the part of the Egyptians an offensive war. The case therefore, now wholly hinges on the question formerly stated; May a nation, when unjustly attacked by another, seize the property of its enemy, or of his individual subjects? May it keep what of their goods it has already in possession, and consider them as lawful spoil? If this is allowable, then certainly the Israelites might now retain the gold and silver vessels of the Egyptians, and look upon them in that light.’

Vol III. pp. 44—46.

In reading the description of the Tabernacle, in the book of Exodus, our readers must have noticed many particulars relative to measures and weights in the articles of which it was constructed; but perhaps it never occurred to them, that in the directions given by Moses for the erection of the Tabernacle, and the preparation of its vessels, a standard of weights and measures was provided for the Hebrew nation. Such, however, is the opinion of Michaelis, in Art. ccxxvii. *Of the plans which Moses took for the Regulation of Weights and Measures.*

‘I shall now speak of their measures of length, measures of capacity, and weights, separately, and in succession.

‘1. The longitudinal measure was fixed for future ages in a great variety of ways. The measures of the court of the tabernacle and its hangings; (Exod. xxvii, 8—19.) of the curtains that covered the tabernacle; (Exod. xxvi, 1—13.) of the boards that framed it, which were made of a wood very little apt to alter; (Exod. xxvi, 15, 16.) of the tabernacle itself, which was 30 ells long, and 10 broad; of the altar of burnt-offerings, overlaid with copper; (Exod.



xxvii, 1.) are all specified in ells, and *that* in a book which every Israelite was to read. It is true, that the curtains and the wood might be affected by exposure to the atmosphere, although, perhaps, one error would correct another; but still every Israelite that came to attend divine service, in any future age, would here obtain a pretty accurate view of the ell, and might, at any rate, measure some of these things with more perfect accuracy, and thus judge whether the nation still retained in common use the ancient original ell or not.

‘Still less variation was to be dreaded in those archetypes of the ell, that were kept in the sanctuary itself. Of the table of shewbread, (Exod. xxv, 23.) the altar of incense, (Exod. xxx, 2.) and the ark of the covenant, (Exod. xxv, 10.) all the dimensions are specified. These were made of *Acacia* wood, and only overlaid with gold. But the most invariable of all the standards of longitudinal measures, as being made entirely of gold, is the lid of the ark, which was two ells and a-half long, and one ell and a-half broad. (Exod. xxv, 17.)’ Vol. III. p. 387.

The Mosaic ell would be ascertained from the remains of the Tabernacle in the time of Solomon, when the Temple was erected; and as the ell was transferred to that building, the ancient measure was thus preserved until the time of Nebuchadnezzar, by whom the Temple was destroyed.

‘2. The measures for corn and wine (*mensuræ aridorum et fluidorum*) were among the Hebrews more uniform in their contents, than ours are. For their *ephah*, or bushel, and their *bath* (for liquids) were equally large. It is very certain that there was a standard of these measures in the *sanctum sanctorum*, and that it stood before the ark of the covenant. Moses was ordered to place *an homer of manna*, (and the *homer* is the tenth part of the *ephah*, or Hebrew bushel,) *before God*; and it appears that the vessel was not of wood, but of gold; Exod. xvi, 33—56. Heb. ix, 4.

‘3. As to weights, Moses specifies them in the following manner.

20 *gerahs* make one shekel of the Sanctuary;\*

3000 such shekels make one *kickar*†, or talent.

‘By this information alone, however, posterity would not have been much benefited; for the question would be, *How much is a gerah?* and if it was replied, *The twentieth part of a shekel?* the question would recur, *And what is a shekel?* And if the answer was *twenty gerahs*, they would have been in the very same predicament in which the evil spirit stood, when he catechised the orthodox collier

\* See Exod. xxx, 13. Levit. xxvii, 25. Numb. iii, 47. xviii, 16.

† This appears from Exod. xxxviii, 25, 26; where 301,775 shekels are reckoned 100 talents, and 1,775 shekels more. Moses gave no statute relative to the talent, as he did in the case of the *gerah* and shekel; probably, because there was no dispute about the talent, every one reckoning it at 3000 shekels; whereas the one shekel might comprise *more*, and the other *fewer* *gerahs*.

on the subject of his belief. If, in the course of time, the shekel became smaller, so likewise would the gerald diminish in the same proportion.

'But here too a standard was provided. The fifty boards of which the walls of the tabernacle were composed, rested each upon two silver sockets, and every one of these hundred sockets was of the weight of a talent; Exod. xxxviii, 27. Here, therefore, they had no fewer than a hundred standards for the talent, by which the shekel could at any future period be determined.'

Vol. III. pp. 390—393.

The superintendents of weights and measures among the Israelites, were, much in the Egyptian style, says Michaelis, the priests and Levites.

It is, we apprehend, quite unnecessary for us, in closing the present Article, to recommend the volumes before us. The attention of our more intelligent readers, can scarcely fail of being excited by the announcement of a work bearing the name of Michaelis, and extending to four octavo volumes. They contain much curious matter, and will furnish instruction and entertainment to the reader. The historical knowledge, the philosophical penetration, and the political and moral reasonings, which pervade the Commentaries, confer upon them no ordinary value. Their utility in elucidating the Mosaic constitution, and in demonstrating the wisdom and integrity of the Hebrew Legislator, is great and important, as they furnish the biblical student many new and strong lights with which he may explore the foundations of revealed religion, and by the aid of which he will perceive their solidity and security. The work, however, is, with all its excellence, far from being a faultless production. Michaelis is not always bound down to the sober consideration of his subject, but sometimes indulges in conjecture, and speculates on circumstances and effects, as connected with the origin and provisions of the Mosaic Statutes, which were probably very remote from the contemplation of the Legislator. There is, occasionally, the apparent assumption of the character of original discovery in some of his illustrations, which his predecessors had in substance furnished, as in the case of the House Leprosy, which Dr. Mead had previously explained. The reader of these volumes will frequently be arrested in his progress through their numerous pages, by statements and opinions at which he must pause to examine and correct. The discussion of some topics to which we can but allude, their nature forbidding distinct mention, is unnecessarily and offensively prolonged. Over passages of this description, the Translator has very judiciously cast a veil, by giving them in a Latin version; nor should we have quarrelled with him if he had more liberally used this freedom. It would have conferred additional



value on the work, had it been accompanied with notes to illustrate and amend the text, as in the Introduction to the New Testament, which is so much enriched and improved by Bishop Marsh's additions. This, it seems, was in the intention of the Translator, as it also was to prepare a Memoir of the Life and Writings of Michaelis: the former he had, for reasons perfectly satisfactory, relinquished, and the latter object is now arrested in its execution, by the death of the Translator.

Art. VII. *Odes and other Poems*. By Henry Neele, f. cap 8vo. pp. 144. Sherwood and Co. 1816.

MR. NEELE has prefixed to his volume some remarks on our English 'Lyrist,' in whose steps he professes that he is bold enough to aspire to tread; but he claims for this, his 'maiden performance,' the candour of the critic. Our young poet takes upon himself, however, to play the part of the critic, without scruple or compunction, deciding with matchless flippancy, that all Akenside's Odes are below mediocrity. Mr. Neele would do well to leave criticism alone. We transcribe the first Ode.

'TO TIME.

Inexorable king! thy sway  
Is fix'd on firm but cruel might;  
It rolls indeed the radiant day,  
But sinks it soon in deepest night:  
It bids the little flow'ret spring,  
But while it waves its elfin wing,  
Its fleeting glories go;  
It suffers hope to dance a while,  
Nursing the fondling's fatal smile,  
That tears may faster flow:  
And only bids fair beauty bloom,  
At last to blast it in the tomb.  
Tyrant! he changes every scene,  
While he himself remains the same;  
Old grow the young, and grey the green,  
And cold and cheerless the flame.  
With arrow keen he pierces all,  
Nor stays to see the sufferer fall,  
But wings his way alone:  
Oft too he questions fierce and high,  
And while we pause to make reply,  
The visitor is flown:  
We only mark the change he brings,  
And hear the rushing of his wings.  
Oh! he has many borne away,  
Who seem'd not meant to go so soon,  
Who might have hop'd for closing day,  
But fell before th' approach of noon.

Scarce had their fame been whisper'd round,  
Before its shrill and mournful sound

Was whistling o'er their tomb;

Scarce did the laurel 'gin to grow  
Around each early honoured brow,

Before its grateful bloom

Was changed to cypress sear and brown,

Whose garlands mock the head they crown.

Some linger on forlorn, till life

Becomes a load they long to leave;

The aged finds its folly rife,

That flatters only to deceive.

The tree beneath whose cooling shade

His youthful limbs were blithely laid,

Sinks with the weight of years;

The friends he lov'd, the tales he told,

The very fields are growing old,

And cheerless all appears;

While he himself is fading fast,

And death (deliv'rer!) comes at last.

A few more lays be sung and o'er,

The hand is cold, the harp unstrung;

The hand that swept shall sweep no more,

The harp that rang no more be rung.

The sun that warm'd the minstrel's heart,

And kindred fervour would impart,

Then gleams upon his sod;

The breeze that used around him wave,

Shakes the lorn thistle o'er his grave,

But cannot wake the clod;

Tir'd nature nestles in the shroud,

Tho' requiem winds are piping loud.' pp. 3—7.

Among the miscellaneous poems, we were particularly pleased with the stanzas on Melancholy, on account of their truth and simple beauty of expression. We give the last two verses.

'The moon is powerless with her beam,

To ripen or to warm;

Yet when she gazes on the stream,

Reflects in it her form.

So melancholy never tints

The mind that owns her care,

With health or warmth; but only prints

Her own cold image there.' p. 141.

We shall make room for one more extract.

#### STANZAS.

'And where is he? not by the side

Whose every want he loved to tend;

Not o'er those valleys wandering wide,

Where sweetly lost, he oft would wend;



That form beloved he marks no more,  
 Those scenes admired no more shall see,  
 Those scenes are lovely as before,  
 And she as fair—but where is he?  
 No, no, the radiance is not dim,  
 That used to gild his favourite hill,  
 The pleasures that were dear to him,  
 Are dear to life and nature still;  
 But ah! his home is not as fair,  
 Neglected must his gardens be,  
 The lilies droop and wither there,  
 And seem to whisper, "where is he?"  
 His was the pomp, the crowded hall,  
 But where is now this proud display?  
 His riches, honours, pleasures, all  
 Desire could frame—but where are they?  
 And lie, as some tall rock that stands,  
 Protected by the circling sea,  
 Surrounded by admiring bands,  
 Seemed proudly strong—and where is he?  
 The church-yard bears an added stone,  
 The fire-side shews a vacant chair,  
 Here sadness dwells and weeps alone,  
 And death displays his banner there;  
 The life is gone, the breath has fled,  
 And what has been no more shall be,  
 The well-known form, the welcome tread,  
 Oh where are they, and where is he?" pp. 109—112.

The volume is, upon the whole, highly creditable to the talents of the Author, as a display of youthful genius. Let him never be content to do less than his best.

Art. X *A Catechism on the Nature of a Christian Church.* With Scripture Proofs. By R. M. Miller. Price 6d. or 5s. per dozen, Williams. 1817.

**WE** notice with the highest satisfaction an unexceptionable exposition of the principles of Nonconformity, in a catechetical form, free from all controversial matter, and adapted to promote the religious knowledge and practical benefit of candidates for church fellowship, and members of Christian churches. It is needless to say how much such a work was wanted. That the deficiency has not been long since supplied, must be attributed to a notion which has been too prevalent, that the principles of Dissent must necessarily assume the form of polemical discussion, or mix themselves with topics of political interest; and that they could not therefore be submitted as the matter of religious instruction, to the minds of young persons, without the danger of prejudice to the spirit of piety. Mr. Miller deserves the warmest thanks of ministers and pa-

rents, for having provided the best answer to all such objections, in this little performance. It is compiled with the most careful adherence to the plain import of Scripture. The questions are very short, the answers simple, pertinent, and supported by Scripture proofs at length. We have seen a Catechism recently published, written by the Rev. Mr. Orme, of Perth, which we highly approve, but which appears to us defective in this very respect, as the Scripture authorities are merely referred to. We cannot too strongly recommend this Catechism for general circulation.

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Art. IX. Pamphlets on the Commutation of Tithes.

(Concluded from Page 266.)

**I**N a preceding Number, we took a rapid view of the influence of Tithes upon agriculture; of the objections which existed to the Tithe-laws upon political and moral considerations; and of the expedients which had been suggested for the removal of those objections. We adverted too to the circumstance, that in the discussion which had recently arisen upon the subject of Commutation, it had been thought proper to canvass the origin and nature of that species of property, and to re-assert the elevated character of the title under which it is held. But it may probably be inquired, If the *abolition* of Tithes is an event neither in discussion nor in prospect; if the expediency of *Commutation* is the only question; why cannot a commutation be proposed or effected without any inquiry as to the original character of the property to be commuted, or the solidity of the right by which it is claimed? It is for Mr. Coxe, and those who think proper to follow the course which he has adopted, to answer that question as they can. Had those gentlemen thought fit to confine themselves to the discussion of the merits and demerits of the proposed plans of Commutation, the 'inde-feasible' right of church property might in all probability have reposed undisturbed in the tomes of Gibson and Spelman, or 'wheresoever else the same is, or may be, to be found.' What then is the history of this discussion? It is shortly this. An outcry—whether reasonable or unreasonable, is not now the subject of inquiry—but an outcry was raised against the increasing oppression of the Tithe-laws, upon the agricultural classes of the community, and Parliament was thronged with petitioners, praying for some modification of that system, which should relieve them from the hardships which they proffered themselves ready to prove at the bar of the House. Certain persons, in their zeal for the interests of the Church, immediately stepped forward to stem the clamour; which, if it was an unreasonable clamour, or was thought *by them* to be an unreasonable clamour, they were most assuredly right in doing. But with what weapons? With the weapons of common sense, and of fair



reasoning? No; but with the arbitrary caveat of 'sacred—'indefeasible—unalterable property:' with the *noli me tangere* of 'irrevocable, prescriptive right.' Prescriptive right? It would naturally be inquired, Is Parliament—is the supreme legislature of the country, to be talked to about the *prescriptive* right of any thing which may be found, on fair and full inquiry, to be inimical to the best interests of the nation? Why, the right to feudal services was a prescriptive right; the right of the Monastic orders to their privileges, was a prescriptive right; the right of fifty other things equally unfitted to stand against advancing intelligence, was a prescriptive right; and where are they? Upon these positions, however, many of the opposers of Commutation deemed it advisable to take their stand, and here therefore it became the duty of those who entertained a firm persuasion of the fallacy of those positions, to meet them. Thus, a subject which had slept for upwards of a century, has been again brought before the public eye; and we fear the Church has few thanks to make to those who have voluntarily undertaken to wield the pen in defence of her prescribed endowment.

Before we entered, however, upon any examination of what the respective parties in difference have to say for themselves on this topic, we thought it more satisfactory to take a calm review of the grievances upon which the outcry for relief was founded; since admitting, as we do, the evil inseparably incident to all great changes, we think it incumbent on all who come forward to impeach long established ordinances, to make out a case of more than petty hardship, or theoretic faultiness. If the claim of a Christian ministry to Tithes, should turn out to be ever so mistaken,—if it should be found to be ever such a reproach to a reformed church, to have adhered to one of the most groundless usurpations of Papacy; still, so long as no positive evil, political or moral, emanated from the existing system, we should have been the last to agitate the public mind on a question which, involving, as it does, 'so great a quantity of interest,' must unavoidably call into action feelings which no good man can recognise with satisfaction. Hasty as the statement was which we gave of the existing evils of the Tithe-laws, we believe it was sufficient to shew that if we, and many greater than we, have not greatly erred in our testimony, those evils are any thing but petty or theoretic. We do not indeed expect that our remarks should come home to every one with that weight to which we faithfully believe them to be entitled. Every one has a sensibility for the effects of what are called *good times* or *bad times*; every one can exult at the appearance of general thrift, and can deplore the distresses of insufficiency; but every one cannot tell how deeply important are those domestic politics which are engaged in securing the production of unexhausted

affluence for millions and millions of human beings, all craving a ceaseless supply of the matter of existence and enjoyment. It requires a mind initiated in the perception of complicated modes of relation, and accustomed to look beyond the mere matter of fact of our daily occasions, to trace the springs of public prosperity to their remotest causations, to detect the principles of the vast system of socialized existence, to perceive the link of universal dependency, and to discover 'that God has 'so ordered the world, that all his creatures must flourish or 'decay together.'\* So far as this habitude of mind is wanting, so far will the view of the evils of the Tithe system be reduced to the mere detail of local animosities and individual grievances; while, on the other hand, in proportion as the understanding is elevated, these minor hardships of its immediate machinery will be overlooked, in the deeper contemplation of the waste of property, the check to enterprise, the depression of national wealth, and the corruption of public morals, to which the country is subjected by the existing law.

Now, we do think, that if a case of this magnitude was made out with any thing like fidelity, on a matter of such paramount importance to the well being of these kingdoms, it did become those who might find it their duty to repel the complaint, to weigh, with some degree of seriousness, the foundation upon which they stood, before they ventured to set at nought the requisitions of human prudence, by a retort so unfair, if untrue, as the accusation of impiety. We say 'unfair, because it must be felt that the operation of this species of defence, in the hands of all those who are too indolent or too interested to detect its absurdity, is to neutralize the whole force of the appeal by the influence of a prejudicial opprobrium, and by so doing, to bespeak the cordial reception of the weak and plausible evasions of alleged facts, to which the opponents of Commutation find it necessary to resort. This renewed attempt to mislead the minds of men, and to disfigure the simplicity of the Christian scheme, by identifying with it the positive institutions of the Jewish priesthood, and the ecclesiastical traditions of corrupted churches, will, however, we have little doubt, find its best and only effectual antidote in the increasing perusal of the Scriptures of the New Testament. It appears hitherto to have been considered that the question as to the sacred character of Tithes, was one which depended for its solution upon the result of laborious scholastic investigation, and could be handled only by the possessors of great Biblical and historical erudition. There are, perhaps, few works in the English language, which, exhibit a greater display of elaborate research, than those which appeared during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, upon the contested question of the right to Tithes in the Christian

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\* See *Armata*, Part I.



Church ; and though the present is not an age of polemical learning, it still seems to be considered that the subject has a prescriptive right to be arrayed in the same imposing apparatus of the Cabala. In this, as in some other instances, it is our lot to conceive that the force of usage has little but itself to recommend it, and we have the temerity to believe that an unlearned Christian, who has no beam in his eye, is as capable of coming to a correct conclusion on the proper means of support for a Christian ministry, as if he had devoted half his life to the investigation of those ponderous tomes and obscure records from which Spelman, and Selden, and Comber, compiled their elaborate works. We mean any thing rather than to depreciate the value of learned investigation ; we are the last to sneer at the researches of the antiquary ; but our reverence for human attainments is not to make us lose sight, as we fear too many do, of those simple and obvious truths which God has revealed to babes and sucklings.

But we may perhaps be told that the pretensions of the modern advocates for Tithe, are not altogether of the aspiring character which we have alluded to ; that their claims to Divine sanction are of a more indirect nature ; and that a kind of compromise has taken place, by virtue of which the imperious requisitions of *jus divinum* have been relinquished for a mere demand of reverence to an institution of Divine *original*, and religious sanctity.\* We confess this is a subtlety beyond the reach of our comprehension. The support of the Christian ministry, by Tithes, either has the Divine sanction, or it has not. We know of no intermediate proposition. It is nonsense to say that our reverence to the revealed will of God requires us to pay Tithes, *because* the payment of them is neither enjoined nor prohibited by the Christian Scriptures, even were the assertion maintainable ; and as to Tithes being of Divine *origin*, if this is all which is to be contended, the fact would, with just the same degree of effect, maintain the right to call for the observance of any other positive institution, recorded in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Whatever then be the precise language of the present advocates for Tithes, we apprehend that if we are to attribute any meaning to that language, we must understand them as asserting that Tithes are countenanced by Divine sanction. But perhaps our readers may be more successful in extricating them from the dilemma than we have been, and we therefore extract those passages from the pamphlets of Archdeacon Coxe, which throw any light on his view of the subject.

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\* "What," says the Rev. Mr. Fisher, "has been so long sanctified by law, and by *religion*, by statute, by canon, and by custom, it is not necessary to support at length." *Letter to F. Lewis, Esq. M.P.*

‘ Its advocates, you say, speak of it (the institution of Tithes) as of great antiquity. Truly I know none of its opponents who have yet called its antiquity in question. In our own country it can be traced to the earliest period of our authentic history; *but its principle is derived from a high and sacred source, of which no believer in Revelation can speak without respect.*’ *First Letter.*

‘ I did not ground the title of the Church of England to its property *exclusively on divine right*, nor did I deny the power of Parliament to alter and amend the laws. I do not shrink from any of the sentiments which I formerly expressed and I still maintain the *sacred origin* and high antiquity of tithe, in contradiction to the positions which it is the object of your reply to establish.’ *Second Letter.*

‘ You enumerate the authorities which support your opinion against *divine right*, and return to your leading principle, and the biblical and historical disquisitions on which it rests. I shall first examine your authorities, and then scrutinize your scriptural, historical, and legal inquiry. And first, as to your authorities.

‘ Before you commence your inquiry, you make fair professions of impartiality and candour; you say, p. 10. ‘ the subject has been discussed by various eminent and well informed men, at too much length to allow me to give more than an abstract of some of their opinions.’ From this declaration, who would not suppose that you had consulted the writers on both sides of this *complicated question*, which embraces a wide field of divinity, law, and history. Has this been your conduct? No, Sir, quite the contrary. You have principally consulted Selden’s History of Tithes, a very learned and laborious work, but extremely partial and prejudiced; for he wrote it to throw an odium on the clergy, at a time when the puritans were beginning to form their hostile attempts against the church and the throne: it is accordingly filled with numerous misrepresentations, false conclusions, wilful omissions, and garbled passages, or perverted authorities.

‘ On this account his antagonist, Comber, justly accuses him in these words, which may be no less justly applied to you:—“ He that reads the book itself will find that (*forgetting these fair professions*) he conceals some of the best proofs for tithes, rejects others, and questions all that seem to establish the divine right, or universal practice of tithes; greedily searching after, and plausibly setting off, all that appears against it.” In these circumstances you ought to have consulted with care and diligence those writers, no less learned and able than Selden, who have *refuted or controverted* his opinions; for you cannot be ignorant that his book occasioned a long and vehement controversy, and that his positions were *completely refuted*, specifically and directly by Bishop Montagu and Dean Comber, by Archdeacon Tillesley, and a clergyman of the name of Nettle, and incidentally by Bishop Stillingfleet, in his Rights and Duties of the Clergy, Prideaux, and many other divines.

‘ This is precisely that species of rhetorical trickery to be most severely deprecated in the discussion of such subjects. Meaning nothing, it passes with the thoughtless for a great deal.



‘Your next authority is Sir Simon Degge. The passage which you have quoted he does not give *as his own opinion*, but as that of the common lawyers, in opposition to the canonists; and the maxim which they lay down is what no one now doubts, namely, that where the common and canon law differ, the common law is to be preferred. You have, however, not chosen to insert a passage from the same author, which, though not quite so well sprinkled with law latin, might yet have taught you to consider the subject with *more caution*. He tells you—“Be they due *jure divino, jure ecclesiastico, or jure humano*, I conceive the difference cannot be great, since, as it must necessarily be confessed, they have been given and consecrated *Deo et sanctæ ecclesiæ*, and so being dedicated to God and his service (in my poor judgment) the taking them away from the proper use and end cannot be less sacrilegious than if they were, without dispute, *jure divino*.”

‘Your quotation from Rayner only proves the opinion of Anthony Pearson, and what is reported of Wickliffe, who indeed was so extravagant in his conceits, or so hostile to his order, as to declare that the clergy, instead of having temporal possessions, ought to subsist by begging. You, however, omit another passage which was not exactly to your purpose, and therefore I shall take the liberty to submit it to your consideration. I think it deserves your attention, as shewing in what light your favourite lawyer might possibly have regarded the advocates for a forcible commutation of tithe. “Several solemn determinations, recorded in the course of these sheets, must convince the most sceptic reader that the rector demands his tithes as his legal property and inheritance, of common right: and the vicar, by virtue of his endowment, or by prescription or usage; and that consequently they both have severally and respectively a most just, equal, and apparent claim to the coercion of the civil power, to recover such their lawful dues, as much as any heir of the kingdom, when the possession or enjoyment of any part of his paternal or other estate is illegally detained from him. So that the popular clamour raised against this reverend order of men cannot have originally proceeded from want of, or defect in, their title to such demands: no, the very contrary, in my most humble opinion, hath been the cause of their injurious treatment; for the indisputable clearness of the clergyman’s title to tithes hath occasioned all the malevolent complaints made against them, which have been propagated by designing men, interested to vilify these sacred characters, in order to conceal their own iniquitous practices, put in use for the shameful purpose of cheating and robbing this holy body of the only subsistence provided for them, and which is allowed them BOTH BY THE LAW OF GOD AND MAN.”

‘—Were the question relating to the *divine right* of the clergy to tithe to be decided by the number of opinions, I could produce against you the early fathers, councils, popes, emperors, and kings; and finally the almost universal sentiment of christendom, during a long series of ages. To descend to later times: without reckoning the clerical antagonists of Selden, his authority is fully counterbalanced

by that of Sir Henry Spelman, who was equally distinguished both as a lawyer and antiquary, and who wrote a learned and laborious treatise, *PROVING the divine right to tithes*, about the same period when Selden produced the work from which you have so liberally borrowed.

‘ I have therefore shewn that the principal authorities to which you appeal are either questionable, or without weight ; and that the others either speak doubtfully on the subject, or decide against you.

‘ I shall now advert to your biblical and historical investigation of scriptural and other history. This investigation may be divided into two parts :—First, the introduction of tithe into the Christian church in general ; and secondly, its establishment and history in England.

‘ 1. The introduction of tithe into the Christian church.

‘ As I do not mean to make these pages a commentary on difficult passages of holy writ, you must excuse me if I do not follow you in all your references to scripture. For this reason I shall pass over the instances of Abraham and Jacob, and the mode of giving and distributing tithe under the levitical law, because the subjects in discussion are the opinions and practice of *Christians*.

‘ I shall proceed to your first proof. You observe (p. 11) that you “ cannot discover that tithe was ever ordered by our Saviour to be given *after* the change of the law,” &c. And again, (p. 29)—“ that the levitical law, which commanded the giving of tithes, &c. was changed by our Saviour himself, as was also the priesthood ; and that the law for giving of tithes was not re-established by Christ must be presumed, because they are not mentioned in the New Testament, as due to the Christian church,” &c.’

‘ I shall not attempt *either to controvert or defend* the principle of *divine right*, which has found many learned and able advocates ; but shall confine my examination to such points as may prove my assertion, that tithe is of divine origin, or derives its principle from Holy Writ.

‘ You are not justified by the authority of Scripture in considering tithe as *abolished* by the change of the law ; nor in presuming that it *must fall of course*, because it was not re-established by Christ, and is not mentioned in the New Testament as due to the Christian church.

‘ It would be *superfluous* to investigate the *reasons* why Christ and his Apostles did not positively enjoin the payment of tithes. It is sufficient to observe, that if Christ did not expressly confirm this part of the Jewish institution, yet he was so far from expressly repealing it, that in his censure of the Pharisees, Matth. 23, xxiii, and Luke 18, ii. he mentions the payment of tithe, as “ *what ought to be done.*” St. Paul, also, not only speaks of tithe without any expression indicative of its repeal, but in comparing the rights and privileges of the Christian with the Jewish priesthood, he observes : 1 Cor. 9. xiii, xiv. “ Do you not know that they which minister “ about holy things, live of the things of the temple ? and they “ which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar ?

“ *EVEN so hath the LORD ORDAINED, that they which preach the “ Gospel, should live of the Gospel.*”



‘ From these expressions, and *many others* scattered through the New Testament, no one who believes Revelation, can doubt, that the ministers of the Christian Church are entitled to a *proper maintenance* by divine ordinance. The quantity and nature of that maintenance are therefore the only points which admit of investigation.

‘ Those who assert the *divine right* of tithes, adduce these very expressions, in *proof of their opinion*, and contend that the precept of St. Paul, in particular, implies the payment of *tithe* to the ministers of the Gospel, IN THE SAME MANNER, as it had been previously paid to the Jewish priesthood. Of this opinion were most of the early fathers.

‘ Those who assert the *divine origin* or principle of tithe, are content to abide by the *literal* meaning of these passages, namely, that the clergy are entitled to a *proper maintenance* by divine command. The *specific quantity*, or tithe, they consider as *established by the early christians*, during, or soon after the apostolic age, in imitation of the precedent given by the Levitical law, and *founded by implication* on the precept of St. Paul.’

We do not follow Mr. Coxe into the succeeding discussion, on the commencement of the payment of Tithes in the Christian Church, because we conceive that the question whether such payment was first enjoined in the third century of Christianity, or in the fourth or fifth, bears with about as much importance upon the real question at issue, namely, the Divine sanction of Tithes, as the other redoubtable points which it has been thought fit to agitate in the course of the controversy, *videlicet*, whether Dr. Watson or Mr. Place, a barrister, was the author of the book commonly called ‘Watson’s Clergyman’s Law,’\* or whether the name of ‘Pietro Soave Polano,’ annexed to the History of the Council of Trent, is not an anagram for that of Father Paul.

The substance of what we are to glean from the extracted passages, appears to us to be—1st, That Tithes are at all events of Divine *origin*. 2ndly. That those who have attempted to deny their claim to Divine *authority*, have been refuted. 3dly.

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\* “ It is unlucky that you should ground so important an assertion on the authority of a feigned name; for the real author of Watson’s Clergyman’s Law was Mr. Place, a barrister.” *Three Letters*, p. 19. We really do not recollect to have met with any thing more pitiful than this for a long time. Besides, we would beg to ask, If Mr. Place, a barrister, chooses to publish a book, with all accustomed gravity, under the name of Dr. Watson, why has not Mr. Benett, or any one else, a full right to cite that book by the name of Watson’s Clergyman’s Law? If we had occasion to quote a passage from his Majesty’s most gracious Speech of the 17th October, 1796, we are not aware that we are under any obligation, critical or moral, to give our marginal reference to the Speech of the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt to both Houses of Parliament.

That Tithes, as payable under the Mosaic dispensation, are not abolished by the change of the Law, nor do they fall, of course, because not re-established by Christ. 4thly. That if Tithes were not established by Christ and his Apostles in form, they were in effect ; and that whether those are mistaken who assert that the precept of St. Paul, " Even so hath the Lord ordained that " they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel," implies the payment of *Tithe*, in the same manner as it had been previously paid to the *Jewish priesthood*, is what Mr. Coxe does not feel himself qualified to decide, as he neither expressly denies nor admits it. Our readers will perhaps be startled at this summary, but we entreat them to turn back again to the extracted pages, to exonerate us from any kind of misrepresentation.

With regard to the argument derived from the *Divine origin* of Tithes, impotent as it is, we are inclined to qualify our surprise at the misconception, when we look back to the leaning there has been among divines of all ages, and more especially the divines of the Church of England, to identify many of the Apostolic ordinances and precepts, with the positive requisitions of the Mosaic Law. Losing sight of the genuine spirit of the Christian dispensation, and the momentous consequences resulting from Christ's coming in the flesh, and the consequent termination of a human priesthood, a large proportion of our theological writings is occupied in a laborious, not to say pedantic reticulation of the typical observances and injunctions of that particular people, ordained to preserve the remembrance of the promised salvation, with the simple institutions and precepts which were delivered to the believers in Christ, to restrain the abuse of that liberty wherewith he had made them free. By a strange perversion of understanding, the shadow has been called in to define the substance,—the final and perfect revelation of the Divine will and purposes, has been supposed to find its sanctity and its comment in the imperfect anticipations of those who were under the veil ; and men, walking in the noon-day light of the Gospel, have returned to seek further illumination from that lesser glory " which was done away," and which the Apostle expressly declares " had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that " excelleth."

There is a deep fallacy about all this, which we hardly know how to fathom. It is impossible to conceive men in the professional as well as voluntary practice of continual perusal of the Bible, wilfully overlooking or laying aside one of the most prominent doctrines of the Christian revelation. And surely, if there be one doctrinal point in the New Testament, more amply enlarged upon or forcibly impressed than others, it is that which relates to the completion of the purposes of the Law, the termina-



tion of its rites, and the abolition of its sanction, by the fulfilment of those promises to which the Law was subservient, the commencement of that real priesthood in the person of the glorified Messiah, which in Aaron was but a shadow, and the dissolution (or death, as the Apostle emphatically calls it) of that bond wherein the law held the children of disobedience.

Now, it does utterly surpass our conception, how the admission of such a fact as the determination of the priesthood of many by the commencement of that unchangeable priesthood of Christ, can be reconciled with the assertion of the continuing sanction of any one of those ordinances which came with the priesthood of Aaron. "For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law. For he of whom *these things* are spoken, pertaineth to another tribe, of which no man gave attendance at the altar. For it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood."\*

But, says Mr. Coxe 'you are not authorised in considering *Tithe* as abolished by the change of the Law.' There were then, we suppose he intends, some special exemptions from the universal deliverance from the bondage of the commandment; there were some parts of the service of the altar, which the "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice and oblation" of him who "entered into heaven itself" and not into "the holy places made with hands," was not of power to dispense with. We have great respect for Mr. Coxe, as a man of talents and as a writer, but he must pardon us if on these points we choose to be guided rather by St. Paul, than by men of later ages. "Now *we know* (says the Apostle) that *what things soever* the Law saith, it saith to them who are *under the Law*." Rom. iii. 19. Now, whatever differences of opinion might prevail among the converted Jews, or even among the Apostles themselves, with regard to their complete emancipation from the works of the Law, during the existence of the Temple, we are wholly at a loss to discover how those works could become obligatory on the Gentile converts, or how they to whom the Law had never been delivered, could in any sense be said to be 'under the Law.' Were it then even to be admitted, that the entrance of Christ into the holy place, "once for all," fell short of complete effect in dispensing with *all* the works of the Law, we do not see how the argument would be helped, as it applies to the continuance of any Divine sanction for the taking of tithes at this day, since the mere *continuance* of the institution under the sanction of the law, could affect those only upon whom the Law was obligatory previous to such *partial* abolition, and consequently would attach upon none but the descendants of Abraham. But

\* Heb. vii 12, 13, 14.

the argument in favour of Tithes, from the sanction of the Law, fails in every point of view; for, if there be any obligation to pay them by reason of a positive law, that obligation can necessarily be discharged no otherwise than by paying them to that description of persons, and for those purposes, to which they were ordained by such positive law. It is incumbent on those, therefore, who would support the right to Tithes upon this argument, to refer us to the persons who are qualified, either by fulfilling or representing the character designated by the law, to give us a discharge from its penal sanction. That all right to such character in *proprio jure* has ceased to exist, the Jews themselves will inform us, having, with a degree of propriety which bears rather hard upon the argument, discontinued the payment of Tithes ever since the destruction of the Temple; and to assert that any pretensions to such character exist, *juro representationis*, in the Christian ministry, is to evince a more profound ignorance of the Christian scheme, than any person of liberal education would choose to be reproached with; since it is one of the most obvious doctrines of the New Testament, not only that the priesthood of Aaron terminated on the commencement of the priesthood of Christ, but that the latter priesthood became eternal and unchangeable in Him, "seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for us." If, therefore, there be any priesthood upon earth, it must be by virtue of that unity of title which believers acquire in the Divine prerogatives of the Messiah, and by which, as all believers are co-heirs with him of his kingdom, all believers may likewise be said to be priests with him, and constitute, as St. Peter expresses it, "a royal priesthood."\* Now, how believers are to pay Tithes to themselves, Mr. Coxe has not informed us, nor do we believe that this mode of discharging the obligation, were it practicable, is such a one as would meet with his approbation.

We proceed then to the consideration of the next argument, namely, the sanction given to Tithes by the founders of the Christian Church; for the supporters of an endowed church lay their claims to Divine authority *quâcunque viâ data*; and

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\* 1 Pet. ii. 9. Hence, in some of the remonstrances against Tithes at the period of the Commonwealth, it was contended, that Tithes ought not to be paid, among other reasons, 'Because the requiring and paying of tithes is an implicit denying that Christ is come in the flesh. For if there be not a change in the law, then the priesthood of Aaron remains. Heb. vii. 12. And if that priesthood remains, then Christ is not yet come. The law was our schoolmaster unto Christ, and after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster. Gal. iii. 24, 25. If we must still be in bondage under the elements of the world, then God hath not yet sent forth his Son, as appears in Gal. iv. 3, 4, 5.' See Appendix to Pearson's *Great Case of Tithes*, p. 81.



if, say they, tithes are not now due by the Levitical law, they are to be considered as authorized by the ordinances, or countenanced by the expressions of Christ and his Apostles.

We apprehend this assertion owes its existence to the same ignorance or forgetfulness of the circumstances of the Christian dispensation, as the argument which we have just been considering, and requires little more than a simple recurrence to those circumstances, to be disposed of. Jesus Christ, while in the flesh, was most undoubtedly under the Law, and therefore, as concerning his manhood, was as much bound to obedience to the works of the Law, as any other of the descendants of Abraham. Jesus Christ, indeed, was not only under the Law, as man, but as more than man, he came to fulfil the Law, which no man had ever done; and by perfect obedience, under all the infirmities of humanity, at once to establish the justice and vindicate the righteousness of God, and to become the justifier of them to whom, by faith, his obedience should be imputed.

Upon these points, we conceive, there can be no difference between us and Mr. Coxe.

Now, if Christ was under the Law, he was as much under one part of it as another; as much under the ceremonial law as under the moral law. Supposing, therefore, that the Evangelists had actually recorded instances of the payment of Tithes by Christ, or his Apostles by his direction, what would that concern believers? Jesus Christ was circumcised; he was presented in the Temple; he observed the Passover, the feast of the Dedication, the Jewish Sabbath:—all these facts are distinctly recorded; but it certainly does not follow that they are examples. Besides, the fact which a Christian minister would have to make out, is, not that Christ *paid* tithes to the Levites, but that he claimed them *himself*; and as, during the mission of Christ upon earth, his character of priest had not commenced, there could of course be no shadow of reason to found such claim upon.

It is next to be observed, that during the abode of Christ in Judea, not only was he himself subject to the works of the Law, but that the Law was likewise in full force on all by whom he was surrounded. The approach of the event which was to exempt them who believed in him, from “being subject to ordinances,” could in no ways diminish the rigour of the existing yoke. Jesus, therefore, in addressing the Jews, addresses them uniformly as *Jews*; he exhorts them to obedience to the works of the Law, at the same time that he enjoins repentance as the fittest preparation for the approaching promulgation. He is occupied, not in announcing to them the final emancipation from the bondage of the Commandment, which should be procured by the shedding of his blood, (a

doctrine which appears to have been reserved for a more advanced state of the Christian converts,) but in calling their attention to the spirituality of the Law, as the means of convincing them how far their ritual observances fell short of any such obedience as could be relied upon for acceptance with God, and thereby preparing their minds for the reception of the Gospel. All this, we conceive, must be very clear to all persons who read their Bibles with attention. What does it avail then for the purpose in question, that among the other works of the Law to which Jesus exhorted the obedience of the Jews, he should have included the payment of Tithes, as one of the things which they, being under the Law, were right in doing with the most scrupulous exactness, but which did not exempt them from the observance of the weightier matters of the Law, or entitle them to "pass over judgement and the love of God?"

Besides, the argument, if any, to be derived from this saying of our Saviour, is ultimately involved in precisely the same absurdity as the argument from the Levitical law; for if that saying imposes any obligation on us to the payment of Tithes, we must discharge the obligation, by paying Tithes in that sense in which the words are used in the passage in question; and can never plead as a performance, the doing of a totally different thing, with a totally different meaning, because that thing happens to be designated by a synonymous name.

In reference to the support to be derived by the advocates of Tithes, from any other expressions of our Saviour or the Apostles, more immediately addressed to the circumstances of the Christian church, we shall content ourselves with extracting a few passages from Milton's "*Likest means to remove hirelings out of the Church,*" as containing, in an impressive form, the substance of what must occur to those in the practice of unprejudiced perusal of the Scriptures. It is remarkable, that the passage alluded to by Mr. Coxe, as that advanced by some writers to prove Tithes an apostolic ordinance, is the very text chosen by Milton to demonstrate their absolute exclusion from the Christian regimen.

'Hire (says he) of itself is neither unlawful, nor a word of any evil note, signifying no more than a due recompense or reward; as when our Saviour saith, "the labourer is worthy of his hire." That which makes it so dangerous in the Church, and properly makes the hireling a word always of evil signification, is either the excess thereof, or the undue manner of giving and taking it. What harm the excess thereof brought to the Church, perhaps was not found by experience till the days of Constantine, who out of his zeal



' thinking he could be never too liberally a nursing father of  
' the Church, might be not unfitly said to have either over  
' laid it, or choked it in the nursing. Which was foretold, as  
' is recorded in ecclesiastical traditions, by a voice heard from  
' heaven on the very day that those great donations and Church  
' revenues were given, crying aloud, " This day is poison  
' poured into the Church." Which the event soon after veri-  
' fied, as appears by another no less ancient observation, " That  
' Religion brought forth wealth, and the daughter devoured  
' the mother."

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' Not only the excess of hire in wealthiest times, but also the  
' undue and vicious taking orgiving it, though but small or mean,  
' as in the primitive times, gave to hirelings occasion, though  
' not intended, yet sufficient to creep at first into the Church.  
' Which argues also the difficulty, or rather the impossibility  
' to remove them quite, unless every minister were as St. Paul,  
' contented to teach gratis; but few such are to be found. As  
' therefore we cannot justly take away all hire in the Church,  
' because we cannot otherwise quite remove all hirelings, so  
' are we not for the impossibility of removing them all, to use  
' therefore no endeavour that fewest may come in; but rather,  
' in regard the evil, do what we can, will always be incumbent  
' and unavoidable, to use our utmost diligence how it may  
' be least dangerous: which will be likeliest effected if we  
' consider, first, what recompence God hath ordained should  
' be given to ministers of the Church; (for that a recompence  
' ought to be given them, and may by them justly be received,  
' our Saviour himself from the very light of reason and of  
' equity hath declared, Luke x. 7, " The labourer is worthy  
' of his hire;") next, by whom; and lastly, in what manner.

' What recompence ought to be given to Church Ministers,  
' God hath answerably ordained according to that difference  
' which he hath manifestly put between the Law and the  
' Gospel. Under the Law he gave them tithes; under the  
' Gospel, having left all things in his Church to charity and  
' christian freedom, he hath given them only what is justly  
' given them. That, as well under the Gospel, as under the  
' Law, say our English divines, and they only of all protestants  
' is tithes; and they say true, if any man be so minded to give  
' them of his own the tenth or twentieth; but that the law  
' therefore of tithes is in force under the Gospel, all other pro-  
' testant divines, though equally concerned, yet constantly deny.  
' For although hire to the labourer be of moral and perpetual  
' right, yet that special kind of hire, the tenth, can be of no  
' right a necessity, but to that special labour for which God  
' ordained it. That special labour was the levitical and cere-

' monial service of the tabernacle, Numb. xviii. 21, 31, which is  
 ' now abolished, the right therefore of that special hire must  
 ' needs be withal abolished, as being also ceremonial. That  
 ' tithes were ceremonial is plain, not being given to the Levites  
 ' till they had been first offered a heave offering to the Lord,  
 ' ver. 24, 28. He then who by that law brings tithes into the  
 ' Gospel, of necessity brings in withal a sacrifice and an altar;  
 ' without which tithes by that law were unsanctified and pol-  
 ' luted, ver. 32, and therefore never thought on in the first  
 ' Christian times, till ceremonies, altars, and oblations, by an  
 ' ancienter corruption were brought back long before. And  
 ' yet the Jews, ever since their temple was destroyed, though  
 ' they have rabbis and teachers of their law, yet pay no tithes,  
 ' as having no Levites to whom, no temple where to pay them,  
 ' no altar whereon to hallow them: which argues that the  
 ' Jews themselves never thought tithes moral, but ceremonial  
 ' only. That Christians therefore should take them up, when  
 ' Jews have laid them down, must needs be very absurd and  
 ' preposterous. Next it is as clear in the same chapter, that  
 ' the Priests and Levites had not tithes for their labour only  
 ' in the tabernacle, but in regard they were to have no other  
 ' part nor inheritance in the land, ver. 20, 24, and by that  
 ' means for a tenth, lost a twelfth. But our Levites under-  
 ' going no such law of deprivation, can have no right to any  
 ' such compensation, nay, if by *this* law they will have tithes,  
 ' can have no inheritance of land, but forfeit what they have\*.

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\* In Mr. Gourlay's *Right to Church Property secured*, a pamphlet  
 conspicuous for an originality and vigorousness of remark, of the  
 highest order, and sometimes almost amounting to sublimity, there  
 is the following new and striking observation. ' When this order  
 ' was first appointed, there was a peculiar adaptation of the scheme  
 ' of tithe to the purposes and views of the institution of the priest-  
 ' hood. The priesthood was a whole tribe, and the sacred duties  
 ' were hereditary. The tribe of Levi, having a tenth of the gross  
 ' produce of the soil, would multiply nearly after the same rate as  
 ' the other tribes of Israel; and thus the proportion of priests, in  
 ' point of number, to the rest of the people, would always be main-  
 ' tained nearly the same.

' When tithes are appropriated to a certain fixed number of priests,  
 ' the issue is very different. With increased cultivation, tithes in-  
 ' crease greatly, and also the population. The limited number of  
 ' priests, under the increase of tithe, have their relative situation  
 ' in society very much changed. They become richer; and as indo-  
 ' lence and vice are the natural concomitants of wealth, less duty  
 ' will be performed in the priestly office, in the inverse ratio of its  
 ' need, increased by a growing population.

' This statement exhibits a striking contrast between the divine



' Although it be sufficient to have proved in general the  
 ' abolishing of tithes, as part of the judaical or ceremonial law,  
 ' which is abolished all, as well that before as that after Moses ;  
 ' yet I shall further prove them abrogated by an express ordi-  
 ' nance of the Gospel, founded not on any type, or that muni-  
 ' cipal law of Moses, but on moral and general equity given us  
 ' instead.' 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14. ' Know ye not, that they who mi-  
 ' nister about holy things, live of the things of the temple ; and  
 ' they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar ? So  
 ' also the Lord hath ordained, that they who preach the Gospel,  
 ' should live of the Gospel ?' He saith not, should live on things  
 ' which were of the temple, or of the altar, of which were  
 ' tithes, for that had given them a clear title : but abrogating  
 ' that former law of Moses, which determined what and how  
 ' much, by a later ordinance of Christ, which leaves the what  
 ' and how much indefinite and free, so it be sufficient to live  
 ' on : he saith, " The Lord hath so ordained, that they who preach  
 ' the Gospel should live of the Gospel," which hath neither  
 ' temple, altar, nor sacrifice : Heb. vii. 13, " For he of whom  
 ' these things are spoken, pertaineth to another tribe, of which,  
 ' no man gave attendance at the altar : " his ministers, therefore,  
 ' cannot thence have tithes. And where the Lord hath so or-  
 ' dained, we may find easily in more than one evangelist : Luke  
 ' x. 7, 8, " In the same house remain, eating and drinking such  
 ' things as they give : for the labourer is worthy of his hire, &c.  
 ' And into whatsoever city you enter, and they receive you, eat  
 ' such things as are set before you." To which ordinance of  
 ' Christ it may seem likeliest that the Apostle refers us, both  
 ' here and in 1 Tim. v. 18, where he cites this as the saying of our  
 ' Saviour, " That the labourer is worthy of his hire." And  
 ' both by this place of Luke, and that of Matt. x. 9, 10, 11, it  
 ' evidently appears that our Saviour ordained no certain main-  
 ' tenance for his apostles or ministers publicly or privately, in  
 ' house or city received ; but that, whatever it were, which might  
 ' suffice to live on : and this not commanded or proportioned by  
 ' Abraham or by Moses, whom he might easily have here cited,  
 ' as his manner was, but declared only by a rule of common  
 ' equity, which proportions the hire as well to the ability of him  
 ' who gives, as to the labour of him who receives, and recom-  
 ' mends him only as *worthy*, not invests him with a *legal right*.  
 ' And mark whereon he grounds this his ordinance ; not on a  
 ' perpetual right of tithes from Melchisedec, as hirelings pretend,  
 ' which he never claimed, either for himself or for his ministers,  
 ' but on the plain and common equity of rewarding the labourer ;

and human establishment of Tithe. The one might go on for ever  
 in beautiful uniformity. The other must vibrate upon a point ; and  
 the least shiver will destroy its necessary equilibrium.

‘worthy sometimes of single, sometimes of double honour; not proportionable by tithes; and the Apostle in this fore-cited chapter to the Corinthians, ver. 11, affirms it to be no great recompense if carnal things be reaped for spiritual sown; but to mention tithes, neglects here the fittest occasion that could be offered him, and leaves the rest free and undetermined. Certainly, if Christ or his Apostles had approved of tithes, they would have, either by writing or tradition, recommended them to the church, and that soon would have appeared in the practice of those primitive and the next ages.’

Upon the principle *audi alteram partem*, we should now recommend our readers to turn to the parade of fathers, and councils, and canons, and to amuse themselves with the judicious typographical arrangement of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in the pages of Dr. Comber, and the other writers of his school; and if they agree with Mr. Coxe, that those who deny the Divine authority of Tithes have been refuted, we have nothing further to do than to wish them joy of their sentiment.

If, on the other hand, the view which we have taken of the Scripture doctrine, is borne out by an accurate attention to the circumstances and nature of the Christian scheme, the real question as to the *matter of right* between the defenders of Tithes and the advocates of Commutation, in spite of all the lofty announcements and pious pretences of the former, must necessarily amount to nothing more than this; whether or not the State, having, at a distant period of time, sanctioned a mode of levying a provision for the support of the ecclesiastical establishment, which at that period might be well enough adapted for the purpose in a secular point of view, and the future evils of which, neither were nor could be foreseen, is to be irrevocably bound by that disposition, now that a total change of economy has destroyed the adaptation of the system, and rendered it productive of mischiefs which become every day more obtrusive, more alarming to the civil interests of the State, and of more demoralizing tendency both to the payer and the receiver of the tax. The assertion of the affirmative of this proposition, must, we conceive, stagger every person acquainted with the spirit of the British Constitution. The author of the “*Sacred and In-defeasible Rights of the Clergy*,” has adverted to this point with considerable perspicuity.

‘During the last Session of Parliament, (he remarks) numerous petitions were presented to the Legislature, from almost every part of the Kingdom; complaining of and praying relief from (what petitioners alleged to be) the oppressive burthens imposed upon them by the Church. To counteract those petitions, and with a view to maintain inviolate the supposed rights of the Ecclesiastical order, meetings of the Clergy were held in different parts of the country.’



'The claims set up at those Meetings, and which it was contended were inherent and indefeasible, appear to me to be at variance with the free spirit of our Constitution, and consequently subversive of the rights and liberties of the people. The Clergy, I am inclined to believe, found their claims to tythes, not as formerly, upon Divine right, but upon the law of the land; and as the Constitution of this country guarantees to the people the right of repealing as well as of making laws, it follows that the *indefeasible* rights of the Clergy must cease, the moment the people exercise their indisputable prerogative in repealing the Law under which they claim.

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'The powers of Parliament, says Sir Edward Coke, are so transcendant, that they can make, enlarge, repeal, abrogate, and expound all law, civil and ecclesiastical; they can alter, new-model, or abolish the established religion of the country, as was done by the Eighth Henry and his family; they can regulate and change the succession to the crown, as was done in the cases of Henry VIII. William III. and the house of Brunswick; they can alter the constitution of the kingdom, and even of parliaments themselves; witness the acts of union, and the statutes for triennial and septennial parliaments.

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'The advantages which the people of this country derive from its representative form of government, are not confined to the making of laws for their guidance and protection, they have a right even to try experiments in legislation, and in fact this is constantly done: acts of the legislature are every day new-modelled, repealed and abrogated; by what rights or power then are the people to be restrained from annulling a pernicious and oppressive law, imposed upon their forefathers, by superstition and credulity.'

We should however remark, that the view of the English constitution taken by the Lord Chief Justice Coke, is not sanctioned by Mr. Coxe; and he shall speak for himself; for even Chief Justices (we say it with all becoming reverence) may be mistaken. The Legislature it appears, according to the opinion of the Archdeacon, have no power to act without the express and special consent of the clergy themselves: such at least is the necessary implication of the following passage.

'The clergy of the present day have but the usufruct, and are incompetent, even if they are willing to dispose of the inheritance of their order. They can neither be bribed nor compelled to consent for their successors in all future ages whom they do not represent; as to exchange a right which is prescriptive or fundamental, for property of any kind, which can only be secured to them by the validity of recent convention.'—*First Letter*, p. 28.

How much, then, is it to be lamented that this did not occur to the Romish clergy, the whole host of regulars and seculars, when they were called upon by the unauthorized voice of Parliament, to relinquish their wealth and their splendour! What

piles of sumptuous architecture, what trentals and obits, what copes and crucifixes, have we not lost by their inadvertency !

It is a remark, however, that we cannot help making, that it is not within the scope of our recollection, to produce a single instance of such a proposition having been ever attempted to be propounded in support of any other tax than that particular one which is appropriated to the maintenance of the established clergy. It is an uncontroverted proposition, that the State is under a civil obligation to provide for the subsistence of its immediate servants,—to provide for the subsistence of its poor :—we will suppose, (to place the defenders of Tithes upon the best footing that we can,) that it is as uncontroverted a position, (which however is not the fact,) that the State is under a civil obligation to provide for the support of a religious establishment. Be it so. How are the advocates of Tithes the better for it ? We do not recollect that in the innumerable discussions which have taken place on the subject, it was ever attempted to be asserted, that the State has not a right to re-model the provision which it has heretofore made for the support of its poor ; or to exchange one mode of effecting that provision for another, if one mode should be found beneficial to the moral character of the poor, and consistent with the civil interests of the nation, and another destructive of them both. And yet the poor must no more be permitted to starve, than the clergy to beg. The one are as much entitled to a security for their subsistence, as the other for their competence, as a matter of civil obligation on the State. How comes it then, that we hear every day of new plans for securing the subsistence of the poor, varying in their complexions and principles with all the variations of human conceptions, and views, and prejudices, and not one word of inquiry drops as to the *right* of the State to tamper with their legal provision ; while, as soon as the most cautious suggestion is made as to the propriety of re-considering the legal provision of the clergy, it is immediately silenced with the jargon of irrevocable prescriptive right ?

The clergy may perhaps say, that they are degraded by the parallel, and they may deny its applicableness. We reply, that nothing can be further from our thoughts than any abasing intention, and that the parallel itself is strictly accurate. For, learned as the clergy mostly are in the legal history of tithes, can they require to be told, that whether they claim under the sanction of the Apostolic ordinance, or under that of the legal establishment of tithes by the mandates of English kings and prelates, their claim extends no further, by either of those authorities, than to be tenants of those very contested tithes in common with the poor and necessitous ? Need we remind them of the tripartite division of tithes, respecting which so much



has been written? How comes it then, we may fairly ask, that that very property in which the poor were jointly interested, by unity of title, should as to them be for ever extinguished, while, as to their co-sharers, it is 'irrevocable and indefeasible'? Is there no parallel here? Are the clergy degraded by having their substantial endowments named in contact with the scanty pittance of the worn-out labourer, the halt, the impotent, and the blind? Let them then first reproach their more humble predecessors for having submitted to accept a provision out of the same fund which had been provided for those ignoble purposes, and let them tell us how it came to pass, that when these needier partakers of the Church's goods were first robbed of 'what had been so long sanctified by law and by religion, 'by canon, and by custom,' they found no kind advocates to cry out, 'Woe unto them who withhold what God and the Church have given!'

Before we conclude these protracted remarks, into which we have been somewhat indignantly led by a series of perversions and absurdities almost unequalled in any modern controversy, we desire again to caution our readers most earnestly against any misconception of the object which we have had in view. What our views are of the real ground upon which tithes stand at this day, we have explicitly avowed at the close of our former Article; and to that statement we request our readers to turn. We have entered upon the preceding examination of the claims again asserted with respect to Tithes, not as the advocates of revolutionary measures, but because those claims, groundless as they are, are brought forward with all the confidence of uncontested certainty, to set at defiance propositions of the most important and beneficial nature, called for by the united voice of the nation. When Anthony Pearson published his "*Great Case of Tithes truly stated*," in 1657, he expressed one of the motives to compiling that work to be, that 'such a collection might 'have this further service, that in time to come, it might prevent 'authors from advancing reasons and arguments for the Divine 'right of Tithes, as some had done very lately, which were fully 'answered and confuted so long ago.' But Anthony Pearson has long since been consigned to the undisturbed dust of the upper shelf, and the overweening assurance of the thoughtless and the half-informed, has again called for the trying drudgery of exposing the most inconsistent and absurd assertions. Here, however, our duty stops. Whatever jurisdiction we may claim in the commonwealth of letters, we presume not to dictate to those in whom the right of civil legislation is constitutionally vested. It is a subject of lamentation to all who are tremblingly alive to the interests of humanity, and who look forward to higher stages of the advancement of common-weal, that in radi-

cal change of almost every kind, there is, and must be so long as human institutions continue to be governed by the uncontrollable laws of nature, essential and inseparable evil. In the beginnings of reformation, this evil is sensibly and severely experienced; while the benefits resulting from the change, are perceived only as they are slowly developed by the hand of time, and as the temporary inconveniences which obscured them, are subsiding into oblivion by the same process. It is owing to this, in a great degree, that in all measures of political economy, questions of right or wrong are unavoidably converted into questions of expediency; and that a mixed mode of reasoning has been insensibly appropriated to legislative discussion, very nearly to the exclusion of pure logic, and of abstract truth. It seems to have been irrevocably ordained, that the material world, in all its advances towards the limited boundary of sublunary excellence, should still remain at an immeasurable distance from the intelligent principle; and that while the advancement of the latter knows no obstacle but the finite power of human apprehension, and the lingering dominion of federal prejudices, improvements in the latter 'to be permanent, must be almost 'insensible, and growing out of the original systems, however 'imperfect they may have been.'\*

We are fully aware that the force of this admission must apply to any radical alteration of the Tithe-system, existing as it has done through successive centuries, in actual co-operation, and connecting itself, in innumerable ramifications, with recognised rights and properties of the most multifarious descriptions. We are aware that in these times, any *radical* change of that system, would, as a consequence of its interference with the long established adjustments of *meum* and *tuum*, and to the extent of that interference, wear the character of a revolutionary measure; and in the re-adjustment of the rights and properties whose balances or relations had been disturbed by the change, would create difficulty and discussion of no trivial extent. Furthermore, we are aware that any *radical* change in the Tithe-system is not destined to be the spectacle of this generation; nor probably of that which is to succeed it; and even did we think that event more probable, or more desirable than we do, we do not believe that any lucubrations of ours would be very likely to accelerate it. Not one iota the less, however, has truth an imperative claim to be asserted, because it is armed with no power but its own; and if the advocates of a corrupt system, trembling, as such persons are apt to do, where no fear is, think it their duty to come forward to levy fresh contributions on the credulity of mankind, we think it our duty to tell them, that the

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\* See our extracts from *Armata*, p. 145.



Bible is no longer a sealed book ; and that there are those who do and will read it to better purpose than to pervert the word of God to the support of human traditions and usurpations.

We now gladly take our leave of the disputants for and against tithes. It has been remarked of indexes and abridgements by one whose powerful mind disdained the aid of them, that they 'are most profitable unto the makers thereof.' Of controversial writings, the exact reverse of the proposition is, we believe, in a great majority of cases, the truth. In the very nature of controversy, it generally happens that both parties are more or less in the wrong, for controversies are, in nine cases out of ten, the result of accident ; and that species of half information which is the very parent of argument from the boldness of assertion and contradiction which it inspires, very naturally leads the parties to commit themselves in the outset. In this, indeed, there could be no kind of harm, could controversy be divested of personal feeling ; but here the unphilosophical repugnance to correction, and the haughty spirit of vindication, place themselves invincibly in the way, and induce a degree of wilful blindness which is almost more hopeless than the actual cataract.

Far as the productions which daily come before us may be from flattering the idea, we are yet sometimes enthusiastic enough to indulge a hope, that a time may come when controversy shall be conducted on principles purely mathematical ; when assertion shall no longer supply the place of proof ; when adroitness of personal obliquity, and the cunning trickery of words, shall no more baffle the force of logical deduction ; and when the refutation of an antagonist's position shall no longer rest upon a wilful perversion of his terms, or an artful misrepresentation of his reasoning.

In the mean time, however, the by-stander may profit. Having no personal sensibilities to be compromised, he has the advantage over both parties ; and unconcerned whether the laurels be ultimately borne off by A or by B, he has nothing to do but to avail himself of the individual exertions of both ; exertions, as it often happens, which nothing but the vehemence of dispute would have excited.

## ART. X. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

\* \* *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.*

Nearly ready for publication, The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq. printed from the original MSS. in the Library at Wotton, embracing the greatest portion of the Life of the celebrated Author of "The Sylva," a Discourse on Forest Trees, and other works of long established literary celebrity. This extremely curious and valuable journal contains his observations and remarks on men, manners, the politics, literature, and science of his age, during his travels in France and Italy, his residence in England towards the latter part of the Protectorate, and his connexion with the Courts of Charles II. and the two subsequent reigns, interspersed with a variety of novel and interesting Anecdotes of the most celebrated Persons of that period. Added to this, will be, original Private Letters from Sir Edward Nicholas, (Secretary of State to King Charles I.) during some important periods of that reign, with the King's answers in his own handwriting, now first given to the world; also, selections from the Correspondence of John Evelyn, and numerous Letters from Sir Edward Hyde (Lord Clarendon) to Sir Edward Nicholas, and Richard Brown, during the Exile of the British Court. The whole highly illustrative of the events of those times, and affording numerous new facts to the historian and politician. The work will be comprized in Two Volumes, royal 4to. and will be embellished with authentic portraits, engraved by the best artists, partly from the most exquisite drawings of celebrated masters, now in the possession of the Evelyn family, comprising original portraits of John Evelyn, of Sir Richard Brown, of Mary, his daughter, wife of John Evelyn, and of Sir Edward Nicholas, views of Wotton House, one of which is worked from an original etching by John Evelyn, and other interesting plates.

Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Ministry, of the late Rev. William Goode, A.M. Rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, are preparing for publication, by Charles Bowdler, Esq. and will be prefixed to a volume of his Discourses on the names and titles given to the Redeemer.

A new Edition of Mr. Steven's "Inquiry into the Abuses of the Chartered Schools in Ireland: with Remarks on the Education of the lower Classes in that Country," is in the press, and will be published in December.

Lord Orford's Letters.—In the press, and speedily will be published, in one Vol. royal 4to. Letters from the Hon. Hor. Walpole, to George Montagu, Esq. from the year 1736 to 1770, now first published from the Originals in the possession of the Editor.—A very few Copies will be printed on Imperial Paper: such Gentlemen as are desirous of having this size, are requested to transmit their Names to their respective Booksellers, or to the Publishers; and, to render this Volume uniform with Lord Orford's former Works, an extra Title will be printed.

Dr. Carey has nearly ready for the press, (on the plan of his "Clavis Metrico-Virgiliana") a "Clavis Metrico-Nasoniana," calculated to accompany the future Editions of the Dauphin Ovid.

Dr. Carey has likewise in forwardness, an "Elocutory Edition of Thomson's Seasons," with Metrical Notes to each line, to regulate the enunciation, as in his "Introduction to English Composition and Elocution."

A work of imagination, entitled Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus, in Three Vols. will be published towards the close of the present month.

In the press, in one volume 12mo. The Christian's Treasure, or a Companion to the Christian's Inheritance, (Clarke's Promises) being the Doe-



trinal and Preceptive Parts of the Old and New Testament, appropriately arranged under different heads.

Early in December will be published, in One large Volume 12mo. The Juvenile Botanist's Companion, or Complete Guide to the Vegetable Kingdom. By Robert John Thornton, M.D.

On the 1st of January, will be published, No. 1, price 3s. to be continued monthly, of "the Poor Man's Family Book?"

Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson is preparing for publication, A Narrative of an Over-land Journey from India, performed in the course of the present year, through the principal Cities of Persia, part of Armenia, Georgia, over the Caucasus into Russia, through the Territory inhabited by the Cossacks of the Don, to Warsaw, and thence through Berlin to Hamburg.—The Work will be accompanied with Engravings illustrative of the more remarkable Antiquities in those Countries, the Costume of the Inhabitants, and other interesting Subjects, from Drawings executed in the Course of the Journey.

Mr. Nichols will shortly publish, in Two Vols. 8vo. The Life and Errors of John Danton, Citizen of London; with the Lives and Characters of more than 1000 contemporary divines, and other persons of literary eminence. To which are added, Danton's Conversation in Ireland; Selections from his other genuine Works; and a faithful portrait of the Author.

Early in February will be published, A Translation of Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered, by the Rev. J. H. Hunt, A.M. Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

In the press, and speedily will be published, carefully revised, and considerably enlarged, a Second Edition of Illustrations of the Divine Government; tending to shew that every thing is under the direction of Infinite Wisdom and Goodness, and will terminate in the production of Universal Purity and Happiness. By T. Southwood Smith, M.D.

A Narrative of Discoveries in Asia by Mr. Burkhart, who has been for some years travelling in the countries south of Egypt, under the auspices of the African Association, is in the press.

The Rev. Charles Clarke will soon publish a work describing the Hundred Wonders of the Modern World, and of the three Kingdoms of Nature.

Tales of Wonder, of Humour, and of Sentiment, by Anna and Annabella Plumptre, in three duodecimo volumes, are nearly ready for publication.

Mr. Matchett, of Norwich, is preparing a Topographical Dictionary of the County of Norfolk, to be comprised in a large octavo volume, embellished with maps and views.

Mr. Munday, of Oxford, will soon publish, a new and improved Guide to the City of Oxford and its Vicinity.

The Rev. D. W. Garrow, Rector of East Barnet, has in the press, a History of the Town of Croydon, with its Hamlets and Manors.

Capt. Basil Hall, of the *Lyra*, has a work in the press, on the late Embassy to China, which will relate chiefly to the nautical surveys and discoveries, and be accompanied with charts.

Original Letters, from Richard Baxter, Matthew Prior, Lord Bolingbroke, Alexander Pope, Dr. Cheyne, Dr. Hartley, &c. with Biographical Illustrations, edited by Rebecca Warner, near Bath, will soon appear in an octavo volume.

A new Edition of Langdale's Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire, with considerable additions, is in the press.

A new Edition of Barnabee's Journal, with the Text restored from the earliest impressions of the work, and a Biographical Account of the Author, will soon appear.

In the press, Sensibility, the Stranger, and other Poems. By W. C. Harvey.

C. Phillips, Esq. Barrister, has in the press, the Life of the Right Hon. John Philpot Curran, late Master of the Rolls in Ireland, in a quarto Volume, with a portrait and vignette.

Dr. James Johnson is preparing, in an octavo volume, an Essay on the Prolongation of Life and Conservation of Health, translated from the French of MM. Gilbert and Halle, with Notes.

John Brown, Esq. will soon publish, *Psyche, or the Soul*, a Poem, in five Cantos.

The Transactions of the Association of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland, Volume I. is printing in octavo.

Madame de Stael's new work on the French Revolution, is printing both in French and English, under the superintendence of Mr. William Schlegel, the literary executor of the Baroness. The Work will be comprised in three octavo

volumes, and will appear in London and at Paris on the same day.

In the press, and in a few days will be published, A Sermon on Nonconformity, preached at White Row, London, before the Monthly Meeting of Congregational Ministers, and printed at their request. By Mark Wilks.

Preparing for the press, by Mr. Mac-

kenzie, the second Edition, corrected, and enlarged, of "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Calvin."

The Rev. Daniel Tyerman, of Newport, Isle of Wight, has in the press, a Volume of Essays on the Wisdom of God, which may be expected to appear soon after Christmas.

## Art. XI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### THEOLOGY.

The Sorrows of Britain, her sad forebodings, and her only refuge: a Sermon on occasion of the great national calamity of the Death of H. R. H. the Princess Charlotte Augusta. By John Pye Smith, D.D. Second Edition. 1s.

The Death of Princes improved. (A Discourse on the same occasion,) delivered at the Independent Meeting, St. Neot's. By Rev. T. Morell. 1s.

A Sermon preached at Salter's Hall, (on the same occasion.) By Rev. H. Lacey. 1s.

The Sun gone down while it was yet day. Preached on the same occasion, at Baker-street, Enfield. By Rev. W. Brown. 1s.

The Trophies of Death, (on the same occasion.) By Andrew Reed. 1s.

A Sermon, (on the same occasion.) By John Styles, D.D. 1s. 6d.

Joy turned into mourning, (on the same occasion.) By William Bengo Collyer, D.D. F.A.S. Fourth Edition. 1s. 6d.

National Mourning, and Devout Submission. The Sun of Britain set. Two Sermons, (on the same occasion.) By Jacob Snelgar. 1s. each.

The Vanity of Man in his best State. A Sermon preached at Hanover-Square, Newcastle, (on the same occasion.) By William Turner. 1s.

The Nation in Tears. A Sermon, (on the same occasion,) preached at Weston Green Chapel, near Claremont. By the Rev. James Churchill, Thames Ditton, Surrey. 1s. 6d.

A Sermon (on the same occasion.) By

William Gordon Pless, Vicar of Cressing, &c. 1s. 6d.

A Sermon (on the same occasion.) By J. W. Cunningham, A.M. Third Edition. 1s. 6d.

A Funeral Sermon, (on the same occasion,) preached in the Parish Church of Blunham, Beds. By the Rev. R. P. Beachcroft, M.A. 1s.

Christian Watching recommended, (on the same occasion,) Preached at the Church of St. Mary le Strand, Westminster. By the Rev. George Richards, A.M. Vicar of Bampton. 1s. 6d.

A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Glankeen, (on the same occasion.) By the Hon. and Rev. Richard Boyle Bernard, A.M. Vicar of Glankeen, in the Diocese of Cashel. 1s.

A Sermon, preached at St. George's Church, Hanover-Square, (on the same occasion.) By the Rev. John Macauley, LL.D. Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Kildare. 1s.

A Course of Sermons, for the Lord's Day throughout the Year; from the first Sunday in Advent, to the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity: including Christmas Day, the first Day in Lent, Good Friday, and Ascension Day. Adapted to, and taken chiefly from, the Service of the Day. By Joseph Holden Pott, A.M. Archdeacon of London, and Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Two Vols. 8vo. 11. 1s.

A Charge delivered at the Primary Visitation of Herbert, Lord Bishop of Landaff, in August 1817. 2s.

\*\*\* The Remainder of the List of New Publications is unavoidably deferred, for want of room, till the Number for January.